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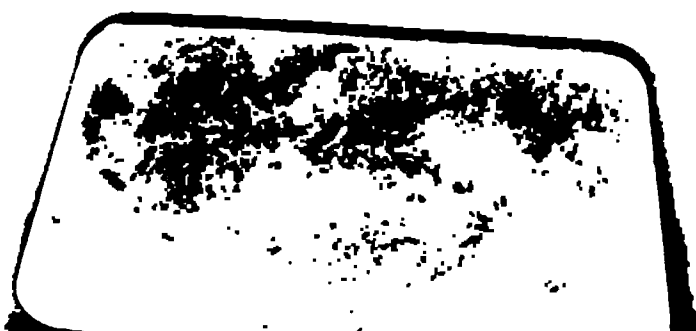
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THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL  
HISTORY  
OF  
THE POPES OF ROME

DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

By LEOPOLD RANKE,  
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

By SARAH AUSTIN.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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# BOOK V.

**VOL II.**

**B**

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## COUNTER REFORMATION.

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FIRST PERIOD, 1563—1589.

**ONE** of the most difficult problems presented to the historian of a nation or other political community is, to apprehend correctly the connection of its particular with its general relations.

It is true that the peculiarities in the life of a nation, like those in the life of an individual, are determined by causes inherent in its original character, and therefore retain through every age a certain uniformity. It is, however, equally true that every nation is continually influenced by general causes, which powerfully affect its progress.

It may be affirmed that the character of modern Europe rests on these two conflicting principles. States and peoples are severed by eternal barriers, yet are at the same time united in an indissoluble community. There is no national history of which universal history does not constitute a large part. So inevitable, so all-embracing is the sequence of

events, that the most powerful state often appears merely as a member of the political community, entangled with, and governed by, its destinies. Whoever has tried to conceive the history of a people as a whole, to survey its course without prejudice or illusion, will have experienced the difficulty arising from this cause. In the several crises of the progressive existence of a nation we trace the various currents of the destiny of the human race.

This difficulty is however doubled when, as sometimes happens, an individual power gives the first impulse to a movement which agitates the whole world ; when it appears as the special representative of a principle. It then takes so large a share in the collective action of the century, it stands in so intimate a relation to all the powers of the world, that its history, in a certain sense, expands into a universal history.

Such was the epoch upon which the papacy entered after the council of Trent.

Shaken to its very core, endangered in the very ground-work of its being, it had found means to maintain and to renew itself. In the two southern peninsulas it had promptly repelled all hostile influences, and had once more attracted and pervaded all the elements of thought and action. It now conceived the idea of reclaiming apostates in all other parts of the world, and subjecting them once more to its sway. Rome was once more a conquering power ; once more she meditated projects and enterprises such as, in ancient times, or in the middle ages, had emanated from the Seven Hills.

We should have but an imperfect conception of the restored papacy were we to contemplate it only at its centre. It is in its operation on the world at large that we apprehend its real significance.

We shall begin by taking a review of the power and the situation of its opponents.

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#### § 1. STATE OF PROTESTANTISM IN THE YEAR 1563.

Up to the time of the last sittings of the council of Trent, protestant opinions had continued to make their way with irresistible force, north of the Alps and the Pyrenees; their dominion extended far and wide over the Germanic, Slavonic, and Romance nations.

Protestantism was the more firmly established in the Scandinavian countries, inasmuch as its introduction coincided with the foundation of new dynasties, and the entire remodelling of their political institutions. From the very first it was hailed with delight, as if it bore a natural affinity to the national feelings; Bugenhagen, the founder of lutheranism in Denmark, dwells with enthusiasm on the eagerness with which his preaching was listened to there, "even on working-days," as he expresses it, "even before daybreak, and on holydays, all day long\*."

\* Narrative of D. Pomerani, 1539: Sabb. p. visit., in Müller's *Entdecktem Staatscabinet*, 4te Eröffn, p. 365.

Protestantism had now spread to the remotest regions. In 1552 the last representatives of catholicism in Iceland finally succumbed. In 1554 a lutheran bishopric was established in Wyborg; evangelical preachers accompanied the Swedish governors to the remote region of Lapland. Gustavus Vasa, in his will, made in 1560, earnestly exhorted his successors and their descendants to adhere firmly to the evangelical doctrines, and not to tolerate any false teachers; he made this almost a condition of their right to the throne\*.

On the eastern shores of the Baltic also, lutheranism had gained a complete ascendancy, at least among such of the inhabitants as spoke the German tongue. Prussia had set the first example of a great secularisation; in 1561 Livonia followed it; and the first condition of submission to Poland made by that province was, that it should be allowed to adhere to the Augsburg confession. Thus, by their relation to countries whose submission was contingent on the maintenance of protestantism, the Jagellonian kings were prevented from opposing the progress of the reformation. The right of the chief towns in Prussian Poland to the exercise of religion according to the lutheran forms, was confirmed in the years 1557 and 1558 by express charters; and still more distinct were the privileges shortly after granted to the small towns, which were more exposed to the attacks of the powerful bi-

\* *Testamentum religiosum Gustavi I.*, in Baaz: *Inventarium Ecclesiæ Sueogoth.*, p. 282.

shops\*. In Poland proper, too, many of the nobles had embraced protestant opinions, which were more agreeable to the feelings of independence generated and kept alive by the nature of their constitution. "A Polish nobleman is not subject to the king; should he then be so to the pope?" Protestants even obtained possession of bishop's sees, and indeed under Sigismund Augustus they formed the majority in the senate. This prince was undoubtedly a catholic: he heard mass every day and a catholic sermon every Sunday, and even sang the 'Benedictus' himself with the singers of his quire; he confessed at the appointed times, and received the Lord's supper in one kind; but he appeared extremely indifferent to the faith of his court or of his country, and was by no means disposed to embitter the last years of his life by a struggle with a conviction so rapidly gaining ground†.

In the neighbouring territory of Hungary the government had certainly gained nothing by attempting a resistance to the current of opinion. Ferdinand I. could never prevail on the Hungarian diet to pass resolutions unfavourable to protestantism. In the year 1554, a Lutheran was elected palatine of the empire, and soon after forced con-

\* Lengnich: Account of the religious changes in Prussia; prefixed to the Fourth Part of the History of the Prussian States, § 20.

† *Relatione di Polonia del Vescovo di Camerino*, about the date of 1555: MS. in the Chigi Library: "A molti di questi (those who live at court) comporta che vivano come li piace, perchè si vede, che S. Maestà è tanto benigna che non vorria mai far cosa che dispiacesse ad alcuno, ed io vorrei che nelle cose della religione fosse un poco più severa."

cessions were made in favour of the Helvetic confession in the valley of Erlau. Transylvania separated itself altogether; the property of the church was confiscated in 1556 by a formal decree of the diet, and the sovereign even seized upon the greater part of the tithes.

We now come to Germany, where the new church, first raised into being by the original character of the nation, had, by long and perilous wars, obtained consideration and legal existence in the empire, and was now on the point of gaining entire possession of the several members of the Germanic body. Great progress towards this result was already made. Protestantism prevailed, not only in northern Germany, where it had arisen, and in the districts of southern Germany, where it has retained a permanent ascendancy, but extended itself far beyond those limits.

In Franconia the bishops vainly opposed its progress. In Würzburg and Bamberg by far the greater part of the nobility and the episcopal authorities, the majority of the magistrates and burghers of the towns, and the whole mass of the people, had embraced the new doctrines. In the bishopric of Bamberg there was a lutheran preacher in almost every parish\*. The administration was carried on in a protestant spirit; since the States, which were regularly constituted bodies and possessed the power of imposing taxes, had the principal conduct of it. In the same spirit judicial appointments were made,

\* Jäck has made this point his particular object in the 2nd and 3rd volumes of his History of Bamberg.

and it was remarked that most of the decisions of the courts were adverse to the interests of catholicism\*. The prince-bishops had not much influence; even those who still, with "old German and Franconian fidelity," revered the sovereigns of the country in their persons, could not endure to see them appear in their clerical ornaments, crowned with their mitres.

The protestant movement had proceeded with equal activity in Bavaria. A large majority of the nobles had embraced the protestant faith, and many of the towns showed a decided inclination to follow their example. At the meeting of his states in the year 1556, the duke was obliged to make concessions which elsewhere had led to the complete establishment of the confession of Augsburg, and which seemed likely to produce the same results in Bavaria. The duke himself was not so entirely opposed to the new opinions, but that he from time to time attended a protestant sermon†.

In Austria protestantism had made still greater progress. The nobles studied at Wittemberg; all the colleges of Austria proper were filled with protestants, and it was asserted that only about one thirtieth part of the inhabitants had adhered to catholicism; even the constitution of the Austrian states gradually underwent changes derived from the free principles of protestantism.

The archbishops of Salzburg, enclosed between

\* Gropp, *Dissertatio de statu religionis in Franconia Lutheranismo infecta*. *Scriptores Wirceb. i.*, p. 42.

† Sitzinger in *Strobel's Beiträge zur Literatur*, i. 313.



Bavaria and Austria, had found it impossible to maintain the ancient faith in their states. It is true they did not as yet tolerate protestant preachers, but the sentiments of the people were not the less distinctly pronounced. In the capital, mass was no longer attended, and neither fasts nor festivals observed. Those who were prevented by distance from hearing the protestant preachers in the Austrian villages, read Spangenberg's sermons for their edification at home. The mountaineers were not content with this; in Rauris, Gastein, St. Veit, Tamsweg and Radstadt, the country people loudly demanded the cup at the Lord's supper, and as it was not granted to them, they avoided the sacrament entirely. They no longer sent their children to school; and on one occasion a peasant rose up in church and called aloud to the priest, "thou liest". The peasants preached to each other\*. It is not surprising that in consequence of the prohibition of all divine service conformable with the newly adopted faith, wild and fantastic opinions arose in these Alpine solitudes.

It was an immense advantage, when compared with this state of things, that in the dominions of the ecclesiastical electors on the Rhine, the nobles were sufficiently independent to procure for their vassals a freedom of opinion which a spiritual prince could hardly have granted. The Rhenish nobles had very early adopted protestantism; and allowed the sove-

\* Extract from a Report by the Canon Wilh. v. Trautmannsdorf, dated 1555; in Zauner's Chronicle of Salzburg, vi. 327.

reign to make no encroachments on their domains, even of a religious nature. A protestant party existed in every city. It evinced its activity in Cologne by repeated petitions. In Treves it had become so powerful as to send for a protestant preacher from Geneva, and to maintain him in defiance of the elector. In Aix-la-Chapelle it aimed at nothing less than ascendancy. The citizens of Mayence did not scruple to send their children to protestant schools, for instance to Nüremberg. Commendone, who was in Germany in 1561, is at a loss for words to describe the subservience of the prelates to the lutheran princes, and their concessions to protestantism\*. Even in their privy councils he thinks he observes protestants of the most violent opinions†. He is astonished to find that time had so entirely failed to bring any succour to catholicism.

The same state of things prevailed in Westphalia as elsewhere. The whole peasantry was engaged in the labours of the harvest on St. Peter's day, and the fasts ordained by the church were generally neglected. The town-council of Paderborn guarded with a kind of jealousy its protestant profession. In Münster most of the priests were publicly married with all due forms: duke William of Cleves, it is true, professed himself in the main a catholic, but in his private chapel he received the sacrament in both kinds; the greater part of his council were

\* Gratiani, Vie de Commendon, p. 116.

† De' più arrabbiati heretici.—“ Mi è parso che il tempo non habbia apportato alcun giovamento.” Commendone, Relatione dello stato della Religione in Germania: MS. Vallicell.

confessedly protestants, and no important obstacle was placed in the way of the evangelical form of worship \*.

In short, throughout the whole of Germany, from east to west and from north to south, protestantism decidedly predominated. The nobles were inclined to it from the very first ; the official functionaries—even then a numerous and influential body,—were educated in the new belief; the common people would hear no more of certain articles of faith, for example, the doctrine of purgatory, or of certain ceremonies, such as pilgrimages; not a convent could continue to support itself, nor did any one venture to exhibit the relics of saints to the multitude. A Venetian ambassador in the year 1558 reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion.

It is not surprising that the power and the possessions of the catholic church continued to decline together with her spiritual authority. In most of the ecclesiastical foundations the canons were either inclined to the reformed religion, or were at any rate lukewarm and indifferent. What then was to hinder them, when a vacancy occurred, from proposing protestant bishops, if the measure appeared advantageous in other respects?

It is true that, according to the terms of the

\* Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V.; from the Anonymo di Campidoglio, i, xxiii.: “Da molt’ anni si comunicava con ambe le specie, quantunque il suo capellano glien’ avesse parlato inducendolo a comunicarsi così nella sua capella segreta per non dar mal esempio a’ sudditi.”

peace of Augsburg, a spiritual prince forfeited his office and revenues if he forsook the ancient faith ; but this was not thought in any degree to restrain a chapter which had embraced evangelical opinions from electing an evangelical bishop ; the only law binding upon them was that the endowments should not be made hereditary. In this manner a prince of Brandenburg obtained the archbishopric of Magdeburg, a prince of Lauenburg that of Bremen, and a prince of Brunswick that of Halberstadt. Even the bishoprics of Lübeck, Verden, Minden and the abbey of Quedlinburg fell into protestant hands\*.

These changes were accompanied by a proportionate confiscation of church property ; the bishopric of Augsburg, for instance, sustained great losses in the course of very few years. In 1557 it was stripped of all the convents in Wirtemberg, and in 1558 of the convents and livings of the county of Oettingen. It was not till after the peace of Augsburg that the protestants raised themselves to equality in Dünkelsbühl and Donauwerth, and to supremacy in Nördlingen and Memmingen ; when the convents in those towns, among which was the rich preceptory of St. Antony at Memmingen, and the parochial livings, were irrecoverably lost†.

Nor were the future prospects of catholicism more encouraging than its present condition, since protestant opinions had become the predominant ones

\* On this subject see also my *Hist. Pol. Zeitschrift*, i., ii., 269, u. f.

† Placidus Braun, *History of the Bishops of Augsburg*, vol. iii., 533, 535, et. seq., in this case, from authentic sources.

in the establishments for education. The ancient champions of catholicism, who had taken the field against Luther, and distinguished themselves in religious controversies, were either dead or at a very advanced age, and no young men competent to supply their places had arisen. It was now twenty years since any student at the university of Vienna had taken priest's orders. In Ingolstadt itself, which was so pre-eminently catholic, no qualified members of the faculty of theology presented themselves as candidates for important offices which had hitherto always been filled by ecclesiastics\*.

A school, with foundations for the benefit of the scholars, was opened by the city of Cologne, but when all the arrangements were made, it appeared that the new regent was a protestant†. Cardinal Otto Truchsess built a new university in his town of Dillingen for the express purpose of combating protestantism. For a few years it flourished, under certain eminent Spanish theologians; but at their departure, no learned catholic could be found in Germany to fill their places; even these were occupied by protestants. At this period almost all the teachers in Germany were protestants; the rising generation sat at their feet, and, with the first rudiments of knowledge, imbibed hatred of the pope.

Such was the condition of affairs in the north and east of Europe. In many places catholicism was

\* Agricola, *Historia provinciæ societatis Jesu Germaniæ superioris*, i., p. 29.

† Orlandinus, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, tom. i., lib. xvi., nr. 25.: "Hujus novæ bursæ regens, quem primum præfecerant, Jacobus Lichius, Lutheranus tandem apparuit."

entirely crushed, in all oppressed and despoiled ; and whilst it was striving to defend itself here, enemies yet more formidable had arisen against it in the south and west.

For undoubtedly the calvinistic view of christianity was far more decidedly opposed to the doctrines of the church of Rome, than lutheranism ; and it was precisely during the epoch of which we are now speaking that calvinism took possession of men's minds with irresistible force.

It had arisen on the frontiers of Italy, Germany and France, and had extended in all directions : in Hungary, Poland and Germany it formed a subordinate, but yet considerable element of the protestant movement ; in the west of Europe it had already acquired independent power.

While the Scandinavian nations had adopted the lutheran faith, Britain had become calvinistic, though the protestant church had assumed two wholly opposite forms in England and Scotland. In Scotland, where it attained to power in opposition to the government, it was poor, popular and democratic ; but so much more resistless was the enthusiasm which it inspired. In England, on the contrary, it had gained the ascendancy by its alliance with the existing government ; there it was rich, monarchical and magnificent, and was content with exacting conformity to its ritual. The former naturally bore a far stronger resemblance to the church of Geneva, and was infinitely more in accordance with the spirit of Calvin.

The French had embraced the doctrines of their

countryman with their national vehemence ; and in spite of all persecutions, the French churches were soon organized in a protestant form, on the model of those of Geneva ; they even held a synod as early as the year 1559. In 1561 the Venetian ambassador Micheli did not find a single province free from the protestant doctrines : he says, “three-fourths of the kingdom were filled with them ; namely, Brittany and Normandy, Gascony and Languedoc, Poitou, Touraine, Provence and Dauphiné.” “At many places in these provinces,” says he, “meetings are held, sermons preached, and rules of life laid down, entirely on the model of Geneva, without any regard to the royal prohibition : these opinions are adopted by all, and, what is most remarkable, even by the clergy ; not only by priests, monks and nuns—few indeed of the convents remain uninfected—but even by the bishops and many of the most considerable prelates.” “Your Highness,” says he to the Doge, “may be assured that with the exception of the lower classes, who still zealously frequent the churches, all the rest have fallen away, especially the nobles, and, almost without a single exception, the men under forty ; for although many of them still go to mass, it is only for appearance sake, and through fear ; when they are certain of escaping observation they avoid the mass and the churches.” When Micheli went to Geneva he found that immediately after the death of Francis II. fifty preachers had gone from thence to different towns in France ; he was astonished at the consideration in which

Calvin was held, and at the sums of money he received for the assistance of the thousands who had taken refuge at Geneva\*. He thought it indispensably necessary, in order to avoid shedding torrents of blood, to grant freedom of religion, at least *ad interim*, as he expresses it, to the French protestants. And in fact his report was soon followed by the edict of January 1562, which granted a legal and recognised existence to protestantism in France, and which is the basis of the privileges it has from that time enjoyed in France.

These general changes in Germany, France, and England, necessarily produced an effect on the Netherlands also. The influence of Germany was first predominant. Among the various motives which determined Charles V. to undertake the Smalcaldic war, one of the most cogent was, that the sympathy excited by the German protestants in the Netherlands daily increased the difficulty of governing that province, which formed so important a part of his dominions. In subduing the German princes he at the same time prevented a revolt of

\* Micheli, Relatione delle cose di Francia l'anno 1561 : " Da poi che fuconosciuto che col mettere in prigione e col castigare e con l' abbrucciare non solo non si emendavano, ma si disordinavano più, fu deliberato che non si procedesse più contra alcuno, eccetto che contra quelli che andavano predicando, seducendo e facendo pubblicamente le congregationi e le assemblee, e gli altri si lassassero vivere : onde ne furono liberati e cavati di prigione di Parigi e di tutte le altre terre del regno un grandissimo numero, che rimasero poi nel regno praticando liberamente e parlando con ogn' uno, e gloriandosi che aveano guadagnato la lite contra i Papisti, così chiamavano e chiamano li loro adversarii."



his Netherlanders\*. Yet all his laws, severely as they were executed (it has been calculated that up to the year 1560, thirty thousand protestants were put to death), were unavailing to arrest the progress of the new opinions. The only consequence was, that these gradually inclined more to the French calvinist doctrines than to the German lutheran ones. In the year 1561 a formal confession was subscribed in that country, churches were established on the model of that of Geneva, and the protestants, by uniting themselves with the local authorities and their supporters, acquired a political basis which seemed to promise them security and success for the future.

Under these circumstances the earlier oppositions to the church of Rome acquired fresh force. In the year 1562 the Moravian brethren were formally acknowledged by Maximilian II., and took advantage of this favourable event to choose a large number of new pastors in their synods, to the number, it is reckoned, of a hundred and eighty-eight†. In 1561 the duke of Savoy found himself constrained to grant new privileges even to the poor communities of Waldenses in the mountains‡. The protestant spirit had extended its vivifying power to the most distant and obscure corners of Europe. What an immense empire had it conquered in the

\* This view, taken by the then Florentine resident at the imperial court, appears to me to rest on good grounds.

† *Regenvolscii Ecclesiæ Slavonicæ*, i. p. 63.

‡ Leger, in his *Histoire des Églises Vaudoises*, ii. p. 38, gives the treaty.

space of forty years !—an empire reaching from Iceland to the Pyrenees, from Finland to the summit of the Italian Alps ! Opinions analogous to protestantism, as we have already observed, even found their way across those mountains, and were diffused over the whole territory of the Latin church. The new faith had been adopted by the great majority of the higher classes and of those who took an active part in public life ; whole nations were enthusiastically devoted to it, and it had entirely altered the constitution of states\*. This is the more remarkable, since its doctrines were by no means a mere negation or renunciation of popery, but on the contrary were in the highest degree positive, and contained a renovation of those christian feelings and principles which guide and govern human life, even to the deepest and most secret recesses of the soul.

\* The loss was thus looked upon in Rome itself. Tiepolo, *Relatione di Pio IV. e V.* : “ Parlando solamente di quelli (popoli) d’ Europa che non solo obedivano lui (al papa) ma ancora seguivano in tutto i riti e le consuetudini della chiesa romana, celebrando ancora li officii nella lingua latina : si sa che l’ Inghilterra, la Scotia, la Dania, la Norvegia, la Suetia e final<sup>m</sup> tutti i paesi settentrionali si sono alienati da lei : la Germania è quasi tutta perduta, la Bohemia e la Polonia si trovano in gran parte infette, li paesi bassi della Fiandra sono così corrotti che per rimedio che vi si sforzi dar loro il Duca d’Alva difficil<sup>m</sup> ritorneranno alla prima sanità, e finalmente la Francia per rispetto di questi mal humori è tutta ripiena di confusioni ; in modo che non pare che sia restato altro di sano e di sicuro al pontefice che la Spagna e l’ Italia con alcune poche isole, e con quel paese che è dalla Ser<sup>ta</sup> V<sup>ra</sup> in Dalmatia et in Grecia posseduto.”

§ 2. RESOURCES POSSESSED BY THE PAPACY FOR  
ACTIVE CONTEST.

For a long time the papacy and catholicism had maintained an attitude defensive, it is true, against the encroachments of protestantism, but yet passive, and had been obliged to endure them as they best might.

Now however things assumed a new aspect.

We have already contemplated that inward development by which the catholic church began the work of self-restoration.

We may affirm generally, that she was once more inspired with a fresh and living energy; that she regenerated her creed in accordance with the spirit of the age, and originated a reform which on the whole satisfied its demands. She did not allow the religious tendencies then existing in the south of Europe to grow into hostility; on the contrary she incorporated them with her own, and gained the absolute direction of them. This was the process by which she renewed her strength and repaired her disasters.

Hitherto protestantism alone had filled the theatre of the world with those brilliant results which carried away the minds of men; but another spirit, which, if contemplated from the elevated region of enlarged and dispassionate thought, is perhaps equally deserving of veneration, though in direct opposition to that which had actuated the first reformers, now entered the lists, equally skilled to

engage the hearts of men on its side and to rouse them to activity.

The restored catholic system first gained possession of the two southern peninsulas. This could not be effected without the exercise of extraordinary severity : the renovated inquisition of Rome came to the support of that of Spain, and every effort of protestantism was forcibly crushed. At the same time all those tendencies of thought and feeling which renewed catholicism most especially addressed and most strongly captivated, were peculiarly powerful in those countries. There too the princes allied themselves to the interests of the church.

It was of the utmost importance that Philip II., the most powerful of them all, was so firm in his attachment to the papacy. With all the pride of a Spaniard, by whom unblemished catholicism was esteemed the mark of a purer blood and a more noble descent, he rejected every adverse opinion. It was not however a mere personal feeling which influenced his political conduct. The kingly dignity in Spain had from time immemorial been tinged with a spiritual colour, which had been heightened by Isabella's institutions. The royal power was strengthened in every province by the addition of spiritual authority ; nor indeed could the kingdom have been governed without the aid of the inquisition. In his American possessions too the king appeared preeminently in the light of a propagator of the christian and catholic faith : this was the common bond that united all his dominions in obedience to him ; he could not have given it up with-

out imminent danger. The increase of the Huguenots in the south of France caused the greatest alarm in Spain. The inquisition thought itself bound to be doubly watchful. "I assure your highness," writes the Venetian ambassador to his sovereign on the 25th August, 1562, "that no great religious excitement is to be desired for this country: there are many here who long for a change of religion\*." The pope's nuncio thought the issue of the council then assembled was no less important to the royal than to the papal power. "For," says he, "the obedience paid to the king, nay his whole government, depends on the inquisition; were that to lose its authority, seditions would instantly arise."

The power which this prince possessed in the Netherlands was alone sufficient to give to the southern system an immediate influence over the rest of Europe. But besides that, all was far from being lost in other nations. The emperor, the kings of France and Poland, and the duke of Bavaria still adhered to the catholic church. There were still many spiritual princes whose frozen zeal could be revived, and in many places protestantism had not yet penetrated the mass of the population. The greater part of the peasantry in France and even in Hungary† and Poland were still catholic: Paris,

\* Dispaccio Soranzo Perpignan, 28 Maggio: "Essendo in questa provincia (Spagna) molti Ugonotti quasi non osano mostrarsi per la severissima dimostrazione che qui fanno contra. Dubitano che non si mettano insieme, essendone molti per tutta la Spagna."

† If it were not, in this case, ignorance, as Lazarus Schwendi asserts: "En Ungarie tout est confusion et misère: ils sont de

which even at that period exercised great influence over the other towns of France, had not been infected with the spirit of innovation. A large proportion of both nobles and commoners in England, and the whole of the ancient indigenous population of Ireland, adhered to the catholic faith. In the Tyrolese and Swiss Alps protestantism had found no acceptance, neither had it made any considerable progress among the Bavarian peasantry. At all events Canisius compares the Tyrolese and Bavarians to the two tribes of Israel “who alone remained faithful to the Lord.”

It is a subject deserving of a minute inquiry, on what internal causes was founded this pertinacious constancy, this immoveable attachment to tradition, among populations so various and dissimilar. In the Netherlands, the Walloon provinces exhibited the same phænomenon.

And now the papacy resumed a station in which it could once more win over all these inclinations and bind them indissolubly to itself. Although greatly changed, it possessed the immeasurable advantage of having on its side all the external associations of the past, and the habit of obedience. In the council, which they had brought to a happy conclusion, the popes had even succeeded in increasing their authority, which it had been the object of that assembly to diminish, and in strengthening their influence over the national churches.

la plus parte Huguenots, mais avec une extrême ignorance du peuple.” (Schwendi au Prince d’Orange, Archives de la Maison d’Orange-Nassau, i. p. 288.)

They now also renounced that worldly policy by which they had formerly thrown Italy, and indeed the whole of Europe, into confusion. They allied themselves, with entire confidence and without any reservations, to Spain, and fully returned her devotion to the church of Rome. Their Italian principality, their extended territory, were exceedingly favourable to the success of their ecclesiastical undertakings. The surplus of its revenues for some time greatly assisted the universal catholic church.

Thus strong in themselves, thus strengthened by their powerful adherents and by the idea of which they were living representatives, the popes quitted the defensive position with which they had been hitherto forced to content themselves, for attack ;—an attack the progress and consequences of which it is the main object of this work to consider.

A boundless theatre opens to our view ; the action begins in many different places at once, and our attention is solicited to the most opposite and dissimilar parts of the world.

Religious activity is intimately connected with the current of political opinions : combinations arise embracing the whole world, and causing the success or the failure of enterprises. We shall keep the great changes in political affairs the more steadily in view, since they often exactly coincide with the results of the religious warfare.

We must not however confine ourselves to generalities. Even the conquests of the sword cannot be achieved without some native sympathies in the

conquered in favour of the victors ; how much less those of opinion ! We must fathom to the very bottom the interests of the several countries, in order to understand the internal movements which facilitated the projects of Rome.

Such is the abundance and the variety of events and of modes of existence comprised within the period now to be considered, that we have almost to fear the impossibility of embracing the whole at one glance. It exhibits a state of civilization which rests on homogeneous foundations, and occasionally contracts into great crises, but which presents an infinite variety of phænomena.

We shall begin with Germany, the country where the papacy experienced its first severe reverses, and the arena on which the conflict of the two principles was fought out with the greatest pertinacity and acrimony.

Above all, the society of the Jesuits, combining worldly wisdom with religious zeal, and deeply imbued with the spirit of modern catholicism, did good service to the church of Rome. Our first considerations shall be directed to the influences of this remarkable association.

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### § 3. THE FIRST JESUITS' COLLEGES IN GERMANY.

At the diet of Augsburg, in the year 1550, Ferdinand I. was accompanied by his confessor, bishop



Urban of Laibach. Urban was one of the few prelates whose opinions had remained unshaken. At home he often ascended the pulpit to exhort the people, in their own provincial dialect, to be constant to the faith of their fathers; he preached to them of the one fold under the one shepherd\*. At this time the jesuit Le Jay was also at Augsburg, and excited great attention by his conversions. Bishop Urban made his acquaintance, and from him first heard of the colleges which the jesuits had founded in several universities. In order to rescue catholic theology from the neglect into which it had fallen in Germany, he advised his master to establish a similar college at Vienna. Ferdinand eagerly embraced the project; and, in the letter he addressed on the subject to Ignatius Loyola, he expresses his conviction, that the only means of propping the declining cause of catholicism in Germany was, to give the rising generation learned and pious catholic teachers†. The arrangements were quickly made. In the year 1551 thirteen jesuits, among whom was Le Jay himself, arrived at Vienna, where Ferdinand instantly granted them a dwelling, chapel, and pension, and shortly after incorporated them with the university, and assigned them the superintendence of it.

They soon after rose into consideration at Cologne, where they had already dwelt for two years,

\* Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, vol. ii. b. vii. p. 433.

† Printed in Socher, *Historia Provinciæ Austriæ Societatis Jesu*, i. 21.

but had been so far from making any progress, that they had even been forced to live separate; nor was it till the year 1556, that the endowed school, established under a protestant regent, gave them the means of acquiring a more secure footing. For as there was a party in the city which was most deeply interested in keeping the university catholic, the partisans of the jesuits at length prevailed on the citizens to confide the direction of the establishment to that order. Their great advocates were, the prior of the carthusians, the provincial of the carmelites, and, above all, Dr. Johann Gropper, who occasionally gave a feast to which he invited the most influential burghers, in order that, after the good old German fashion, he might further the interests he had most at heart over a glass of wine. Fortunately for the jesuits one of their order was a native of Cologne, Johann Rhetius, a man of patrician family, to whom the endowed school could be more particularly entrusted. This could not however be done without very considerable restrictions; the jesuits were expressly forbidden to introduce into the school those monastic rules of life which were in force in their colleges\*.

At this same period they also gained a firm footing in Ingolstadt. Their former attempts had been frustrated chiefly by the resistance of the younger members of the university, who would not suffer any privileged school to interfere with the private instruction they gave. In the year 1556, however,

\* Sacchinus, Hist. Soc. Jesu, pars ii. lib. i. n. 103.

after the duke, as we have already related, had been obliged to make important concessions in favour of the protestants, his counsellors, who were zealous catholics, deemed it a matter of urgent necessity to have recourse to some vigorous measures for the support of the ancient faith. The principal movers were the chancellor Wiguleus Hund, a man who displayed as much zeal in the support of the church as in the study of her ancient history and constitution, and the duke's private secretary, Heinrich Schwigger. By their instrumentality the jesuits were recalled, and eighteen of them entered Ingolstadt on the day of St. Wilibald, 7th of July, 1556. They chose that day because St. Wilibald was said to be the first bishop of the diocese. They still had to encounter great difficulties in the town and in the university, but they gradually overcame all opposition by the assistance of the same patronage to which they owed their establishment.

From these three metropolitan settlements the jesuits now spread in all directions.

From Vienna they immediately extended over the whole of the Austrian dominions. In 1556 Ferdinand I. removed some of them to Prague, and founded a school there, intended principally for the young nobility. To this he sent his own pages, and the order found support and encouragement from the catholic portion of the Bohemian nobility, especially from the families of Rosenberg and Lobkowitz. One of the most considerable men in Hungary at that time was Nicolaus Olahus, archbishop of Gran, of Wallachian extraction, as his name denotes.

His father Stoia, in a fit of terror for the murder of a Woiwode of his family, had consecrated him to the church, and the success of his destination was complete. Under the last native kings he filled the important office of private secretary, and he had subsequently risen still higher in the service of the Austrian party. At the time of the general decline of catholicism in Hungary, he perceived that the only hope of support for it was from the common people, who were not entirely alienated. But here also catholic teachers were wanting; in order to form them, he founded a college of jesuits at Tyrnau in 1561, and gave them a pension out of his own income, to which the emperor Ferdinand added the grant of an abbey. An assembly of the clergy of the diocese had just been convoked when the jesuits arrived. Their first labours were devoted to an attempt to reclaim the Hungarian priests and clergymen from the heterodox opinions to which they leaned. They were immediately after summoned to Moravia also. William Prussinowski, bishop of Olmütz, who had become acquainted with the order when he was studying in Italy, invited them to his diocese: Hurtado Perez, a Spaniard, was the first rector in Olmütz. Shortly after we find them likewise established at Brünn.

From Cologne the society spread over the whole of the Rhenish provinces. We have already mentioned that protestantism had found adherents, and had occasioned some fermentation in Trèves. The archbishop John von Stein had determined to inflict only slight punishments on the recalcitrants,

and to oppose innovation by argument rather than by force. He summoned the two principals of the jesuit college of Cologne to repair to him at Coblenz, and represented to them that he wished to have some of the members of their body with him, "in order," as he expresses it, "to lead the flock entrusted to him in their duty, rather by means of admonition and friendly instruction, than by arms or by threats." He then addressed himself to Rome, and very soon came to an understanding with both. Six jesuits were sent to him from Rome; the rest came from Cologne. They opened their college with great solemnity on the 3rd Feb. 1561, and undertook to preach during the approaching season of Lent\*.

Two privy councillors of the elector Daniel of Mayence, Peter Echter and Simon Bagen, now thought they perceived that the introduction of the jesuits was the only means of restoring the declining university of Mayence. In spite of the opposition of the canons and feudal lords, they founded for the order a college at Mayence and a preparatory school at Aschaffenburg.

The society continued to advance higher up the Rhine. What they more particularly desired was an establishment at Spire; partly because the body of assessors to the Kammergericht included so many remarkable men over whom it would be of the greatest importance to obtain influence; and partly in order to place themselves in immediate and local

\* Browerus, *Annales Trevirenses*, t. ii. lib. xxi. 106—125.

opposition to the university of Heidelberg, which at that time enjoyed the greatest celebrity for its protestant professors \*. The jesuits gradually gained a footing at Spires.

Without further delay they also tried their fortune along the Main. Although Frankfort was wholly protestant, they hoped to achieve something there during the fair. This was not to be done without danger, and they were forced to change their lodging every night for fear of being discovered:

At Würzburg they were far safer and more welcome†. It seemed as if the exhortation which the emperor Ferdinand addressed to the bishops at the diet of 1559, imploring them at last to exert their strength in the support of the catholic church, had contributed greatly to the brilliant success of the order in the spiritual principalities. From Würzburg they spread throughout Franconia.

In the meanwhile the Tyrol had been opened to them from another point. At the desire of the emperor's daughters, they settled themselves at Innspruck, and then at Hall in that neighbourhood. In Bavaria they continued to make great progress. At Munich, which they entered in 1559, they were even better satisfied than at Ingolstadt, and pronounced it to be the Rome of Germany. A large

\* e.g. Neuser, in his celebrated letter to the Turkish emperor, says, that he taught and preached at Heidelberg, "to which place the most learned men of the whole German nation now-a-days resort." (Arnold, Ketzerhist, ii. 1133.)

† Gropp, Wirzburgische Chronik der letzteren Zeiten, vol. i. p. 237.

new colony already arose not far from Ingolstadt. In order to restore his university of Dillingen to its original purpose, cardinal Truchsess resolved to dismiss all the professors who then taught there, and to commit the institution to the exclusive care of jesuits. A formal treaty was accordingly concluded at Botzen between German and Italian commissaries of the cardinal and of the order. In the year 1563 the jesuits arrived in Dillingen and took possession of the chairs of the university. They relate with great complacency how the cardinal, who, returning shortly afterwards from a journey, made a solemn entrance into Dillingen, turned with marked preference to the jesuits, amidst all the crowd arrayed to receive him, stretched out his hand to them to kiss, greeted them as his brethren, visited their cells himself, and dined with them. He encouraged them to the utmost of his power, and soon established a mission for them in Augsburg\*.

This was a most extraordinary progress of the society in so short a time. As late as the year 1551 they had no firm station in Germany; in 1566 their influence extended over Bavaria and Tyrol, Franconia and Suabia, a great part of the Rhineland, and Austria; they had penetrated into Hungary, Bohemia, and Moravia. The effects of their labours were already perceptible; in the year 1561 the papal nuncio affirms, that "they gain over many souls, and render great service to the holy see." This

\* Sacchinus, pars ii. lib. viii. n. 108.

was the first counteracting impulse, the first anti-protestant impression, that Germany received.

Above all, they laboured at the improvement of the universities. They were ambitious of rivalling the fame of those of the protestants. The education of that time being a purely learned one, rested exclusively on the study of the languages of antiquity. These the jesuits cultivated with great ardour, and in a short time they had among them teachers who might claim to be ranked with the restorers of classical learning. They likewise addicted themselves to the strict sciences; at Cologne, Franz Koster taught astronomy in a manner equally agreeable and instructive. Theological discipline however of course continued the principal object. The jesuits lectured with the greatest diligence even during the holidays; they re-introduced the practice of disputations, without which they said all instruction was dead. These were held in public, and were dignified, decorous, rich in matter, in short the most brilliant that had ever been witnessed. In Ingolstadt they soon persuaded themselves that they had attained to an equality with any other university in Germany, at least in the faculty of theology. Ingolstadt acquired (in the contrary spirit) an influence like that which Wittenberg and Geneva had possessed.

The jesuits devoted an equal degree of assiduity to the direction of the Latin schools. It was one of the principal maxims of Lainez, that the lower grammar schools should be provided with good masters. He maintained that the character and conduct of the



man were mainly determined by the first impressions he received. With accurate discrimination, he chose men who, when they had once undertaken this subordinate branch of teaching, were willing to devote their whole lives to it ; for it was only with time that so difficult a business could be learned, or the authority indispensable to a teacher be acquired. Here the jesuits succeeded to admiration ; it was found that their scholars learned more in one year than those of other masters in two, and even protestants recalled their children from distant gymnasia and committed them to their care.

Schools for the poor, modes of instruction suited to children and catechizing followed. Canisius constructed his catechism, which satisfied the mental wants of the learners by its well-connected questions and concise answers.

The whole course of instruction was given entirely in that enthusiastic, devout spirit which had characterized the jesuits from their earliest institution. The first rector in Vienna was a Spaniard, Juan Victoria, a man who distinguished himself at Rome on his first entrance into the society, by walking along the Corso clad in sackcloth during the festivities of the carnival, and by constantly scourging himself till the blood streamed from his body. The children who frequented the jesuits' schools in Vienna were soon remarkable for the firmness with which they rejected the forbidden viands on fast days, while their parents partook of them without scruple. In Cologne it was once more regarded as an honour to wear the rosary, while relics,

which no man had dared for years to exhibit publicly, began once more to be held in reverence. In the year 1560 the youth of the jesuits' school at Ingolstadt walked two and two on a pilgrimage to Eichstadt at the time of their confirmation, in order that they might be strengthened with the dew which dropped from the tomb of St. Walpurgis. The sentiments of which these acts were demonstrations, thus carefully instilled into the schools, were disseminated through the whole population by means of preaching and confession.

This is a case perhaps without a parallel in the history of the world. All the other intellectual movements which have exercised an extensive influence on mankind have been caused either by great qualities in individuals, or by the irresistible force of new ideas. But in this case the effect was produced without any striking manifestation of genius or originality. The jesuits might be learned and, in their way, pious ; but no one will affirm that their acquirements were the result of any free or vigorous exercise of mind,—that their piety proceeded from the depth or the ingenuousness of a single heart. They were just learned enough to get reputation, to secure confidence, to train and to attach scholars ; but they attempted nothing higher. Their piety was sufficient not only to keep them free from all reproach on the score of morals, but was positively conspicuous and striking, and therefore admitted of no question ;—and this was enough for them. Neither their piety nor their learning moved in any undefined or untrodden paths.

They had however a quality which distinguished them in a remarkable degree—rigid method, in conformity with which everything was calculated, everything had its definite scope and object. Such a union of appropriate and sufficing learning with unwearied zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and penance, of wide-spread influence and unity of a directing principle and aim, never existed in the world, before or since. They were industrious and visionary, worldly wise and full of enthusiasm, well-bred men and agreeable companions, regardless of their personal interests and eager for each other's advancement. No wonder that they were successful.

A German writer must add another observation. The papal theology had, as we have said, fallen nearly to utter decay. The jesuits arose to revive it. Who were the jesuits that first appeared in Germany? They were Spaniards, Italians, Flemings; for a long time the people did not even know the name of their order; they called them the Spanish priests. They got possession of the chairs of universities, and found pupils who attached themselves to their instructions. They acquired nothing from the Germans, for their doctrine and constitution were perfected before they came amongst them. The progress of their institution in Germany may generally be regarded as a new example of the influence of the Romance part of Europe on the Germanic.

They conquered the Germans on their own soil, in their very home, and wrested from them a por-

tion of their own country. The cause of this doubtless was, that the German theologians had neither come to an understanding among themselves, nor had they the magnanimity to tolerate in each other the less important differences. The extreme points of opinions were seized upon for discussion; opponents attacked each other with reckless violence; so that the wavering and the half-convinced were thrown into perplexity, and the door was opened to these foreigners, who took captive all minds by a system of doctrine, prudently constructed, finished down to its minutest details, and leaving no colour or occasion for doubt.

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#### § 4. BEGINNING OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY.

Notwithstanding the causes of success which we have remarked above, it is manifest that the jesuits could not so easily have risen to the station they occupied, without the aid of the secular arm and the favour of the princes of the empire.

For the destiny of political, had been the same as that of theological questions; no measure by which the essentially hierarchical constitution of the empire might be brought into harmony with the new circumstances of religion had yet been devised. The total result of the peace of Augsburg, as it was at first understood and subsequently expounded, was a fresh extension of the civil sove-

reignty. The several provinces also acquired a great degree of independence in respect of religion. From that time the convictions of the prince, and his agreement with the Estates of his dominions, were the sole causes which determined what ecclesiastical position a country should assume.

This was a consummation which appeared to be brought about for the express advantage of protestantism, but which in the end became far more favourable to catholicism. The former was already established before this result had taken place ; the revival of the latter may be dated from, and was indeed based upon it.

This state of things first obtained in Bavaria, and the immense influence which it exercised, renders the mode of its origin well worthy our particular examination.

Looking back on the proceedings of the Bavarian diets during a considerable period of years, we find the sovereign continually involved in differences with his Estates. The duke in continual embarrassments, oppressed with debts, compelled to impose new taxes, and constantly forced to claim subsidies from his Estates ; these in return demanding concessions, chiefly of a religious kind. It seemed inevitable that a state of things would arise in Bavaria similar to that which had long prevailed in Austria ; a legal opposition of the Estates to the sovereign, founded at once on religion and on privileges, unless the prince should himself become a convert to protestantism.

Without doubt this was the state of things by which, as we have mentioned, the invitation to the

jesuits was mainly caused. It is possible that their doctrine made an impression on the mind of duke Albert V.; and indeed he once confessed at a later period that whatever he understood of God's law he had learnt from Hoffæus and Canisius, both jesuits. Another influence however co-operated: Pius IV. not only pointed out to the duke that every religious concession would impair the obedience of his subjects\*, (which in the then situation of the principalities of Germany was not to be denied,) but gave weight to this warning by marks of favour; he abandoned to him a tenth of the property of his clergy. Whilst he thus made him more independent of the pleasure of the Estates, he showed him what advantages he had to expect from a connexion with the church of Rome.

The main point then was, whether the duke would be able to eradicate the religious opposition of his Estates which had already taken root.

He commenced operations at a diet at Ingolstadt in the year 1563. The prelates were already well inclined to him; he next used his endeavours with the cities. Whether it were that the doctrines of reviving catholicism and the activity of the jesuits, who insinuated themselves everywhere, had gained influence in the cities (especially over the leading members of their assemblies); or whether other con-

\* *Legationes Paparum ad Duces Bavariae*, MS. in the library at Munich, *Prima Legatio*, 1563: "Quodsi Sua Celsitudo Ill<sup>ma</sup> absque sedis apostolicæ auctoritate usum calicis concedat, ipsi principi etiam plurimum decederet de ejus apud subditos auctoritate." They complained at the diet of the province, that the prince was blinded by the claimants.

siderations had weight, it is certain that the cities on this occasion desisted from the demand for fresh religious concessions, which they had hitherto always urged with great eagerness, and proceeded to grant supplies without stipulating for any new liberties. The nobles were now therefore the only body which offered resistance. They quitted the diet in discontent, nay bitterness of mind; threatening expressions which this or that nobleman had let fall, were reported to the duke\*; at length the most distinguished of their body, the count of Ortenburg, whose claim to hold immediately of the empire was contested by the duke, resolved without delay to introduce the evangelical confession into the dominions which formed the subject of dispute. But he thus only placed the most formidable weapons in the duke's hands. Above all, the discovery in one of the castles which Albert took, of a correspondence between the Bavarian lords, containing very offensive expressions, representing him as a hardened Pharaoh, and his council as bloodthirsty persecutors of poor Christians, together with hints which were thought to imply that a conspiracy was on foot, furnished him with a plausible pretext for calling to account all the members of the nobility who were opposed to him†. The punishment to which he condemned them cannot be called severe, but it sufficed for his purpose. He excluded all the accused from the Bavarian diet. As they now con-

\* Private notice and account of the unbecoming and violent speeches on this occasion, in Freiberg, Geschichte der baierischen Landstände, ii. 352.

† Huschberg, Geschichte des Hauses Ortenburg, s. 390.

stituted the only remaining opposition, he became absolute master of his Estates, among whom there has been no further controversy concerning religion from that time to the present moment.

The importance of this step was immediately manifest. For a considerable time duke Albert had urged the pope and the council with great earnestness to grant the cup to the laity; he seemed to think that the whole welfare of his country depended on it. At length, in April 1564, he received it. The result is hardly credible;—he did not even make known that he had it. Circumstances were altered. A privilege departing from the strictest rules of catholicism now seemed to him injurious rather than profitable\*, and he forcibly silenced the clamours of some villages of Lower Bavaria which repeated their former demands with violence.

In a short time there was not a more decidedly catholic prince in all Germany than duke Albert, and he now addressed himself earnestly to the task of making his country once more completely orthodox.

The professors at Ingolstadt were compelled to subscribe the confession of faith which had been proclaimed in consequence of the council of Trent. All the persons employed by government were obliged to bind themselves by oath to a confession of unquestionable orthodoxy; if any one refused, he was dismissed. Nor did duke Albert tolerate protestantism in the common people. The perse-

\* Adlzreitter, *Annales Boicæ Gentis*, ii. xi. n. 22: “Albertus eam indulgentiam juris publici in Boica esse noluit.”



cution began in Lower Bavaria, whither he had sent a few jesuits to convert the inhabitants, and where not only the preachers but all persons whatsoever who adhered to the evangelical creed were compelled to sell their property and to quit the country\*. The same course was pursued with the other part of his dominions. No magistrate would have ventured to show toleration to protestants, which would have drawn upon himself the severest penalties.

With this revival of catholicism all its modern forms were transplanted from Italy to Germany. An index of forbidden books was framed ; they were picked out of libraries and burned in heaps, while on the other hand everything was done to promote the circulation of those of a strictly catholic tendency, and to encourage their authors. The duke caused the Sacred History of Surius to be translated into German and printed at his own cost. The greatest devotion was paid to relics ; Saint Benno, of whom in another part of Germany (Meissen) the people would hear no more, was now formally proclaimed the patron of Bavaria. Architecture and music were first introduced at Munich in the taste of the restored church ; above all, encouragement was given to the jesuits' colleges, by which the education of the rising generation was carried on in the strictly orthodox spirit.

The jesuits, on the other hand, were unwearied in their praises of the duke, whom they called a second Josias, a new Theodosius.

One question alone remained. The more import-

\* Agricola, Ps. i. Dec. iii. 116—120.

ant was the extension of the temporal sovereignty which accrued to the protestant princes from the influence they obtained over the affairs of religion, the more did the renovated authority of the ecclesiastical powers seem to impose restraints upon it.

But a remedy was provided for this also. The popes clearly saw that they could only succeed in upholding their declining power, or in re-establishing it when fallen, by the aid of the temporal sovereigns; they cherished no illusion on the subject, but made it their whole policy to form a close union with the princes of Europe.

In the instruction which Gregory gave to the first nuncio whom he sent to Bavaria, he says without any circumlocution, that it is the most ardent wish of his holiness to re-establish the decayed discipline of the church, but that he sees that for the attainment of so important an end he must unite with temporal princes; that as through their piety religion has been upheld, with their help alone could church discipline and good morals be re-established\*. Thus the pope delegated to the duke the authority to urge on the negligent bishops; to execute the decrees of a synod then sitting in Salzburg; to compel the bi-

\* *Legatio Gregorii XIII.*, 1573. "S. S. in eam curam, incumbit qua ecclesiastica disciplina jam ferme in Germania collapsa aliquo modo instauretur, quod cum antecessores sui aut neglexerint aut leviter attigerint, non tam bene quam par erat de republica christiana meritos esse animadvertit:—adjungendos sibi ad tale tantumque opus catholicos principes sapientissime statuit." The ambassador, Bartolomeo count of Porzia, promises expressly: "Suam Sanctitatem nihil unquam prætermisuram esse, quod est e re sua (ducis Bavarie) aut filiorum."

shop of Ratisbon and his chapter to establish a seminary; in short he committed to him a sort of spiritual superintendence. He consulted him whether it would not be well to found seminaries for the regular, as well as the secular, clergy. The duke assented most cordially to this proposition; he only required that the bishops should not encroach on the rights, whether traditional or newly-acquired, of the prince, and that the clergy should be held in order and discipline by their superiors. There are edicts in which the prince treats the monasteries as the property of his treasury, and subjects them to a secular administration.

If, in the course of the reformation, protestant princes had usurped ecclesiastical attributes, catholic rulers now successfully imitated their example. What the former accomplished in opposition to the papacy, the latter achieved in alliance with it. If the protestant princes placed their younger sons as administrators in the neighbouring evangelical endowments, the sons of catholic princes were, as matter of course, invested with the episcopal dignity in those which had remained catholic. From the very first, Gregory had exhorted duke Albert to neglect nothing which could be of advantage to himself or his sons, and in a short time we see two of these sons in possession of the most splendid benefices, and one of them gradually rising to the highest dignities of the empire\*.

\* Even Pius V. moderated his stern principles in respect to the duke of Bavaria. Tiepolo, *Relatione di Pio IV. e V.*: "D' altri principi secolari di Germania non si sa chi altro veramente

But independently of this, Bavaria acquired great importance by the position she took up. She was the champion of a great principle which just then rose to new power. The lesser German princes of the same creed long continued to regard Bavaria as their chief.

For throughout the extent of the duke's dominions he laboured with ardour to restore the catholic faith. Scarcely had the countship of Haag fallen into his hands, when he drove out the protestants, whom the late count had tolerated, and re-established the ritual and the doctrines of catholicism. Margrave Philip of Baden-Baden had fallen in the battle of Moncoutour; his son Philip, scarcely ten years of age, was brought up at the court of Munich under the guardianship of duke Albert, and of course in the catholic faith. But the duke did not wait to see what would be the conduct of the young margrave when he assumed the reins of government; he instantly sent his high steward, count Schwartzenberg, and the jesuit George Schorich, who had been fellow-labourers in the conversions in Lower Bavaria, into the territory of Baden, with orders to restore that country to catholicism by the same process. The protestant inhabitants brought forward imperial decrees for their protection, but no heed was paid to them; the duke's authorities proceeded, as the historian of the jesuits compla-

sia cattolico che il duca di Baviera: però in gratificatione sua il pontefice ha concesso che il figliolo, che di gran lunga non ha ancora l'età determinata dal concilio, habbia il vescovato Frisingense: cosa che non è da lui stata concessa ad altri."

cently expresses it, "to set free the ears and the spirit of the simple multitude for the reception of the heavenly doctrine;"—that is to say, they sent away the protestant preachers, compelled the monks who had not remained strictly orthodox to abjure all deviations from the true faith, filled the schools, both primary and superior, with catholic masters, and exiled the laity who refused to conform. In the space of two years, 1570 and 1571, the whole country was restored to catholicism \*.

While this was going on in the secular principalities, a similar movement arose by a yet more inevitable necessity in the ecclesiastical.

At one time the spiritual princes of Germany were chiefly characterized by their episcopal functions, and the popes neglected not for an instant to enforce in Germany that increased power over the bishoprics which accrued to them from the decrees of the council of Trent.

The first thing was to send Canisius with the copies of these decrees to the several ecclesiastical courts. He carried them to Mayence, Trèves, Cologne, Osnaburg and Würzburg, where by his activity and address he gave animation and expression to that official respect with which he was received.

\* Sacchinus, pars iii. lib. vi. n. 88, lib. vii. n. 67; Agricola, l. iv. 17, 18. The pope duly prized the duke on this account. "Mira perfunditur lætitia," it says in the account of that embassy, "cum audit, ill. Ser<sup>us</sup> V<sup>us</sup> opera et industria marchionem Badensem in religione catholica educari, ad quod accedit cura ingens, quam adhibuit in comitatu de Hag, ut catholica fides, a qua turpiter defecerant, restituatur."

The affair of the diet of Augsburg of 1566 then came under discussion\*. Pope Pius V. had feared that protestantism would on this occasion make new demands and receive new concessions ; he had already warned his nuncio, in case of urgency, to come forward with a protest threatening the emperor and princes with the privation of all their rights ; he even thought that the moment for it was already arrived†. The nuncio, who had a nearer view of things, held this to be inexpedient. He saw that there was nothing more to fear. The protestants were divided, the catholics held together. They often assembled at the house of the nuncio for the purpose of consulting on measures to be taken in common. Canisius, from his unspotted reputation, his unquestioned orthodoxy and his prudence, had a great influence over them, and they decided that no demand for concession should be listened to ; this diet was indeed the first in which the catholic princes manifested an effectual resistance to innovation. The admonitions of the pope were heard with attention ; the decrees of Trent were previously accepted in a separate meeting of the ecclesiastical princes.

From this moment we may date the commencement of a new life in the catholic church of Germany. These decrees were gradually promulgated in provincial synods, and seminaries were established in the bishops' sees ; the first who com-

\* Maderus de Vita P. Canisii, lib. ii. c. ii. Sacchinus, iii. ii. 22.

† Catena, Vita di Pio V., p. 40, gives an extract from the Instruction. Gratiani, Vita Commendonì, lib. iii. c. ii.

plied with this rule was, so far as I can discover, the bishop of Eichstädt, who founded the Wilibald college\*. The *professio fidei* was subscribed by high and low. It is a highly important fact that this was rendered compulsory in the universities. This was a rule proposed by Lainez and approved by the pope, and now brought into operation in Germany, mainly by the zeal of Canisius. Not only could no university appointment be given, but no degree, not even in the faculty of medicine, could be granted, without the previous subscription of the *professio fidei*. The first university in which this was introduced was, as far as I can find, Dillingen ; by degrees the others followed. The strictest visitations were set on foot, and the bishops, who had hitherto been very indulgent, now manifested great zeal and strictness.

One of the most zealous among them was without doubt Jacob von Eltz, elector of Trèves from 1567 to 1581. He was reared in the ancient discipline of Louvaine, and devoted his literary attainments and labours to catholicism. He collected a martyrology and composed prayers for the hours. Even under his predecessor he had taken the greatest share in the introduction of the jesuits into Trèves, and immediately upon his installation he entrusted to them the visitation of his diocese. Even schoolmasters were obliged to subscribe the *professio fidei*. Under the influence of the methodical spirit of the jesuits, a system of strict discipline and

\* Falkenstein, Nordgauische Alterthümer, i. 222.

subordination was introduced among the clergy ; a regulation was made that the rector should every month give in a report to the dean, who in his turn, at the expiration of every quarter of a year, was to lay a report before the archbishop: all who refused obedience to these measures were sent out of the country without delay. A portion of the decrees of the council of Trent was printed for the use of the clergy of the diocese, and disseminated amongst them for their guidance, while, in order to do away with all differences in the ritual, a new edition of the missal was published. A new and rigorous organization, to which Bartholomew Bodeghem of Delft especially contributed, was given to the ecclesiastical tribunal. The archbishop was never so happy as when he met with any one desirous to return from the errors of the protestant church ; on such an occasion he never failed to give the benediction in person\*.

But other motives besides those arising from their connexion with Rome, now urged the spiritual princes to an active and rigid performance of the duties of their station. They shared, to an equal if not a higher degree, in the reasons of the temporal rulers for restoring the catholic faith in their territories, since their ecclesiastical character provoked a stronger opposition from a population inclining to protestantism.

This important chapter of the German history opens upon us at Trèves. The archbishops of

\* Browerus, *Annales Trevirenses*, ii. xxii. 25 : generally speaking, on these points, our best authority.



Trèves, like other spiritual princes, had always been on bad terms with their capital city. In the sixteenth century protestant doctrines furnished a new element of dispute ; the ecclesiastical tribunal in particular met with obstinate resistance. Jacob von Eltz at last found himself compelled to lay regular siege to the city, which he subdued. He then produced a decree of the emperor, favourable to his claims, and thus reduced the citizens both to temporal and spiritual obedience.

Another step taken by him was productive of wide-spreading effects. In the year 1572 he excluded the protestants irrevocably from his court. The consequences of this measure were particularly felt by the country nobles, who looked to the court for their advancement and now found themselves cut off from every hope for the future ; it is likely enough that more than one of them was thus induced to return to the ancient faith.

Daniel Brendel, elector of Mayence, neighbour to the archbishop of Trèves, was also a zealous catholic. Contrary to the general advice of those around him, he re-established the ceremony of the procession of Corpus Christi, in which he officiated himself ; on no account would he have neglected vespers, and always insisted on attending to spiritual affairs before all others ; amongst his privy-councillors, those received the greatest marks of his goodwill who were the most zealous catholics ; the jesuits speak in terms of admiration and gratitude of the favour they enjoyed at his court, and he sent several pupils to the Collegium Germanicum

at Rome\*. He did not however feel inclined to proceed to such extremities as Jacob von Eltz. His zeal for religion was tinged with a sort of irony. Many of his vassals expostulated with him on his introduction of the jesuits: "What!" he replied, "do you tolerate me, who am far from discharging my duties as I ought, and will you not tolerate men who perform theirs so admirably†?" We have no account of the answer which he returned to the jesuits when they urged the complete extirpation of protestantism from the country. It is certain that he always tolerated lutherans and calvinists both in the city and at court; in some few places he even permitted the use of the evangelical mode of worship‡; probably however he was thus indulgent from consciousness of his inability to put a stop to it. He took very decisive steps in a more remote part of his domains, where he was not overawed by such powerful and warlike neighbours as the count palatine on the Rhine. The restoration of catholicism at Eichsfeld was his work. Protestant doctrines had there gained a firm footing under the favour of the nobles; they had even penetrated into Heiligenstadt, in the very presence of the chapter which possessed the patronage of all the churches: there was a lutheran preacher in the latter place, and the sacrament was administered in both kinds; and

\* Serarius, *Moguntiacarum Rerum Libri v.*; in the section on Daniel, in particular, cap. viii. xi. xxii. xxiii.

† Valerandus Sartorius in Serarius, p. 921.

‡ Complaint of Robert Turner, who sought a Boniface and found only a "principem politicum." (Serarius, p. 947.)

on one occasion at Easter there were but twelve citizens of any consideration who partook of the communion according to catholic rites \*. At this very period—in the year 1574—the archbishop made his appearance in person at Eichsfeld, accompanied by two jesuits, for the purpose of holding a visitation of the churches. He did not proceed to extreme acts of violence, but employed means well calculated to effect his purpose. He removed the protestant preacher at Heiligenstadt, while on the other hand he founded a college of jesuits. He dismissed none of the municipal council, but effectually prevented the admission of protestants for the future, by making a slight addition to the oath taken by the members, in virtue of which each councillor bound himself to obey his grace the elector both in spiritual and temporal matters. His most important step was the choice of a decided catholic to fill the office of high bailiff, Leopold von Stralendorf, who scrupled not on his own responsibility to follow out the milder measures of his master with great severity; and who, in an administration of six-and-twenty years, conducted with inflexible consistency, succeeded in restoring to the catholic faith its predominance both in town and country. He expelled the protestant preachers from both, without heeding the opposition of the nobles, and replaced them by pupils from the new jesuits' schools.

The example of similar proceedings had already

\* Johann Wolf, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Heiligenstadt*, p. 59.

been given in that part of Germany by another spiritual prince.

In the diocese of Fulda the exercise of the evangelical religion had already been permitted by six abbots successively, and even the young abbot Balthasar von Dernbach, surnamed Gravel, promised, at his election in the year 1570, to make no change in this respect. But whether it was that his ambition became inflamed by the favour shown him by the papal court, or whether the restoration of catholicism appeared in his eyes the fit means of increasing his insignificant authority, or whether he had really undergone a more profound change of opinion,—he gradually evinced not only dislike, but hostility to the protestant doctrines. The first thing was to summon the jesuits to his aid. He was not personally acquainted with any, nor had he ever seen one of their colleges ; general report alone, the descriptions of a few scholars from the college of Trèves, and perhaps the recommendations of Daniel Brendel, determined him. The members of the order accepted his invitation with alacrity ; those from Mayence and Trèves founded a colony in common : the abbot built them a house and school and assigned them a pension, and, being himself extremely ignorant and unlettered, submitted to receive instruction from them\*.

\* Reiffenberg, *Historia Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, i. vi. ii.; who adds in this passage to the notices of Sacchinus (iii. vii. 68.) from a treatise drawn up for him by the jesuit Feurer. On the protestant side, complaints of the city of Fulda, and of the knights of that chapter, in Lehmann, *De Pace Religionis*, ii. ix. 257.

Dissensions soon arose between the abbot and the chapter, who had a voice in affairs of this nature, and by no means approved of the invitation to the jesuits ; and, a favourable opportunity having soon presented itself, Balthasar was not long in attacking the city.

The parish priest of Fulda, who had hitherto preached evangelical tenets, returned to the catholic faith, and once more began to perform the ceremony of baptism in the Latin tongue, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper in one kind only. The citizens, long accustomed to the reformed ritual, were not at all inclined to acquiesce in this change, and demanded the removal of the priest. It may easily be imagined that their prayer was not listened to. Not only was the catholic form of worship strictly observed in the cathedral; the evangelical preachers were dismissed one by one from the other churches, and jesuits placed in their stead. The abbot had already exchanged his protestant councillors and officers for others of catholic opinions.

It was in vain that the nobility remonstrated against these measures ; as if astonished, Balthasar replied, “ that he hoped it was not their intention to prescribe rules for the government of the territory entrusted to him by God.” Several powerful princes of the empire endeavoured by means of embassies to persuade him to desist from these changes, and to dismiss the jesuits ; but he remained inexorable. He even proceeded to threaten the knights of his dominions, who claimed a sort of immediate dependence on the empire ;—a

prerogative which would have been exceedingly impaired could the spiritual ruler have enforced obedience in matters of religion.

Such were the steps by which catholicism, after its conquest might have been deemed accomplished, arose in renovated strength in Germany. The most various motives lent their aid ; the religion and the doctrines which were again beginning to resume their ancient sway, and that system of ecclesiastical subordination restored by the decrees of the council of Trent, were especially seconded by motives of internal policy : it was clear, how far more powerful was the sovereign whose belief was shared by his subjects. The restoration of the church had, indeed, at first extended merely to separate points ; but these opened a boundless prospect to the spirit of catholic reform. The fact that the spiritual princes met with no more general resistance, must have had vast and peculiar weight. At the peace of Augsburg an attempt had been made to secure toleration to the protestant communities inhabiting ecclesiastical territories, by an express declaration of the emperor ; the spiritual princes now refused to take any cognizance of this declaration ; at all events, they were utterly regardless of it. The imperial power was not sufficiently strong or resolute to come to any effective decision on the subject, far less to enforce obedience. In the diets of the empire there was neither energy nor unity enough to maintain any such resolution.

The greatest changes took place without noise, without attracting the serious observation of cotem-

poraries, without finding mention in the works of historians,—as if such were the natural and inevitable course of events.

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§ 5. DISTURBANCES IN THE NETHERLANDS AND  
IN FRANCE.

Whilst the struggles of catholicism were thus mighty and successful in Germany, an agitation from the same cause arose in the Netherlands and in France, though marked by very different characteristics.

The fundamental difference was, that in each of these latter countries there existed a strong central power, which spontaneously took part in every fluctuation of public opinion, put itself at the head of religious movements, and was directly affected by the opposition they encountered. The various relations of the government had consequently a greater unity, and its proceedings were conducted with more consistency and energy. It is well known how numerous were the measures taken by Philip II. at the commencement of his government in the Netherlands, to ensure perfect obedience ; he was compelled to abandon one after another, and he only held fast with inflexible and relentless pertinacity to those which conduced to the maintenance of catholicism and of the unity of the church.

He completely altered the ecclesiastical constitution of the country by the creation of new archbishoprics and bishoprics. No opposition, no appeal to the rights he thus invaded, turned Philip from his purpose.

These bishoprics assumed a double importance since the council of Trent had so exceedingly increased the rigour of church discipline. After a short deliberation, Philip II. had adopted the decrees of the council, and directed their promulgation in the Netherlands, as well as in his Spanish dominions. The people of the former country, who had hitherto been exempt from any galling restraint, were now subjected to the strictest supervision and to all the rigours of forms and ceremonies from which they were just anticipating entire emancipation. To this cause of discontent we must add the penal laws, so many of which had been enacted by the preceding government of the Netherlands, and the zeal of the inquisitors, daily more and more stimulated by the new Roman tribunal.

The Netherlands left no means untried to move the king to relax from his severity, and he sometimes appeared inclined to milder measures. Count Egmont imagined, during his stay in Spain, that he had received his assurances to that effect ; but this was scarcely to be expected. We remarked in a former place how much Philip's power throughout his dominions rested on the religious temper of the times ; had he made concessions to the Netherlands, they would have been demanded in Spain, where he could not have granted them. It cannot



be denied that he was subject to the pressure of a tyrannous necessity; but, besides, these were times in which the accession of Pius V., and the proceedings which marked the beginning of his reign, awakened a new zeal throughout the whole catholic world. Philip was singularly devoted to that pope and lent a ready ear to his exhortations. At this moment the attack of the Turks upon Malta was repulsed, and the bigoted enemies of the Netherlanders might, as the prince of Orange feared, have taken advantage of the impression made by this victory to bring the king to some violent determination\*. And in fact, towards the end of the year 1565 an edict appeared which surpassed all former ones in severity.

The penal laws and the decrees of the council, and of the subsequent provincial synods, were to be most scrupulously executed; the inquisitors were to have exclusive cognizance of religious offences; all the civil authorities were instructed to afford their assistance; and in each province a commissary was appointed to watch over the execution of this edict, and to report thereon every three months†.

It is evident that the effect of this edict was to establish a spiritual domination, if not as strict as in Spain, certainly not less so than that of Italy.

The consequence was, that the people flew to arms; the destruction of images began, and the whole country was wasted by fire and sword: there

\* The prince held Granvella in suspicion. See his letter in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, i. 289.

† Strada, after a formula of the 18th Dec. 1565, lib. iv. p. 94.

was a moment indeed in which the government was compelled to give way: but as usually happens, acts of violence defeated their own ends; the more moderate and quiet of the inhabitants were alarmed, and lent their assistance to the government. The Governess was victorious; after she had taken the rebellious places, she felt herself strong enough to impose an oath upon the men in office, and even upon the king's vassals generally, by which they solemnly bound themselves to the maintenance of the catholic faith, and the extirpation of heretics\*.

The king, however, was not yet satisfied. These events occurred at that unfortunate moment marked by the catastrophe of his son Don Carlos, and never was he more stern or more inflexible. The pope again exhorted him to make no concession prejudicial to catholicism; the king assured his holiness that he would not suffer even the roots of a malignant plant to remain in the Netherlands, and that he was determined either to lose the provinces, or to maintain inviolate the catholic religion†. In order to carry this resolution into effect, as soon as the disturbances were put down, he sent into the Netherlands his best general, the duke of Alva, at the head of a well-appointed army.

Let us pause a moment to consider the funda-

\* Brandt, *Histoire de la Réformation des Pays Bas*, i. 156.

† Cavalli, *Dispaccio di Spagna*, 7 Aug. 1567: "Rispose il re, che quanto alle cose della religione S. Santità stasse di buon animo, che ovvero si han da perder tutti quei stati o che si conserverà in essi la vera cattolica religione, nè comporterà che vi rimanghi, per quanto potrà far lui, alcuna radice di mala pianta."

mental idea which guided all Alva's proceedings and conduct.

Alva was convinced that in all violent revolutionary movements everything was accomplished when the leaders were got rid of. The fact that Charles V., after all his mighty victories, was almost driven from the imperial throne, he attributed to the forbearance of that prince in sparing his enemies when he had them in his power. The alliance between the French and the Spaniards, which was contracted at the congress of Bayonne in 1565, and the terms there agreed upon, have been the subjects of much discussion. Of all that has been said about them thus much only is certain,—that the duke of Alva exhorted the queen of France to get rid of the leaders of the huguenots by fair means or foul, and for ever. What he then recommended to others, he did not now hesitate to put in practice. Philip II. had furnished him with some blank warrants to which his royal signature was affixed. The first use he made of them was to arrest Egmont and Horn, both of whom he assumed to have been implicated in the former troubles. “May it please your sacred catholic Majesty,” he begins the letter which he sent to the king on this occasion, (and which seems to prove that he had no express command to act as he did,) “as soon as I arrived at Brussels I obtained the necessary information from the proper sources, and then secured the person of count Egmont, and arrested count Horn and some few others\*.”

\* *Dispaccio di Cavalli*, 16 Sett. The Governess caused her

If we inquire why a year afterwards he sentenced the prisoners to death, we find that it was not from a conviction of their guilt resulting from the trial; for they were chargeable rather with not having prevented, than with having caused, the commotions; neither was it in consequence of a command from the king, who, on the contrary, left it to the duke to carry the sentence into execution or not, as he deemed it most expedient. The cause was as follows. A small band of protestants had made an incursion into the country; they had not indeed achieved anything of importance, but had gained a slight advantage at Heiligerlee, and a general in the king's army of high reputation, the duke of Aremberg, had fallen in the encounter. Alva says in his despatches to the king, that as he had observed that the people had been thrown into a ferment by this disaster, and were become daring, he considered it necessary to show that he in nowise feared them; he also wished to crush all hope of obtaining the liberation of the prisoners by fresh disturbances, and had therefore determined immediately to cause the sentence to be executed. Such were the mo-

complaints regarding these arrests to be transmitted to the king. The king answered he had not commanded them. To prove this, he showed the letter from Alva, from which the passage intended to prove his assertion is here given. It runs thus: "Sacra cattolica Maestà, da poi ch'io gionsi in Brusselles, pigliai le information da chi dovea delle cose di qua, onde poi mi son assicurato del conte di Agmon e fatto ritener il conte d'Orno con alquanti altri. Sarà ben che V. M. per bon rispetto ordini ancor lei che sia fatto l'istesso di Montigni" (who was in Spain) "e suo ajutante di camera." Hereupon followed the arrest of Montigny.

tives which caused the death of these noble men, whose guilt consisted in the defence of the ancient and established liberties of their country,—in whom no capital offence could be discovered. They fell, rather as victims to the momentary considerations of a perverse and tyrannical policy, than to any principle of law or justice. Even then did Alva advert to Charles V., whose errors he resolved not to imitate\*.

We perceive that Alva was cruel upon principle. Who ever found mercy at that fearful tribunal which he established under the name of the council for the prevention of public disturbances? He governed by arrests and executions; he razed to the ground the houses of the convicted, and confiscated their property; he pursued political, conjointly with religious aims. The ancient power of the assembly of estates was reduced to nothing; Spanish troops overran the country, and a citadel was erected in

\* Cavalli, 3rd July, 1568, gives this letter also in the extract. It is, if possible, still more remarkable than the former one. “Capitò qui l’avviso della giustitia fatta in Fiandra contra di quelli poveri signori prigionieri, intorno alla quale scrive il d. d’Alva, che habendo facoltà di S. M. di far tal esecutione o soprastare secondo che havesse riputato più espediente del suo servitio, che però vedendo li popoli un poco alterati et insuperbiti per la morte d’Arenberg e rotta di quelli Spagnoli, havea giudicato tempo opportuno e necessario per tal effetto per dimostrar di non temer di loro in conto alcuno, e poner con questo terrore a molti levandoli la speranza di tumultuar per la loro liberatione, e fuggir di cascar nell’ errore nel quale incorse l’imperatore Carlo, il qual per tener vivo Saxonìa e Langravio diede occasione di nova congiura, per la quale S. M. fu cacciata con poca dignità della Germania e quasi dell’ impero.”

the most important mercantile city. Alva insisted with determined obstinacy upon the payment of the most odious taxes, and people in Spain wondered—for even from thence he drew large sums—what he did with all the money. It is however perfectly true that the country was submissive, that no malcontents bestirred themselves, that every trace of protestantism disappeared, and the refugees in the neighbouring countries remained quiet. “Monsignore,” said a private secretary of Philip II. during these events to the papal nuncio, “are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the king?” “Quite satisfied,” answered the nuncio with a smile. Alva himself thought he had executed a master-stroke of policy, and looked with contempt upon the French rulers, who had never been able to command obedience in their own land.

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In France, after the rapid strides which protestantism had made, a strong reaction took place in the year 1562, especially in the capital.

The circumstance which had doubtless been the most injurious to protestantism in France was, that it had been so closely implicated with the court faction. For some time the whole people seemed to lean towards the protestant confession; but when its adherents took up arms and committed acts of violence inevitably leading to war, public opinion turned against them.

What sort of religion is this? men asked: Where has Christ commanded a man to rob his neighbour, and to shed his blood? But it was especially at

the time when Paris was put in a state of defence against the attack of Condé, that all the public bodies assumed an anti-protestant complexion. The whole population of the city capable of bearing arms was organized by military officers, who, above all things, were required to be catholics. The members of the university, of the parliament, and even the numerous class of lawyers, were all compelled to sign a confession of pure catholic faith.

Favoured by this state of the public mind, the jesuits obtained firm footing in France. Their beginning was small indeed, for they were forced to be content with colleges which were thrown open for their reception by a few ecclesiastics, their devoted partisans, in Billon and Tournon, places remote from the metropolis, and where nothing important was likely to be accomplished.

In the large towns, and especially in Paris, they at first experienced the most stubborn opposition. The Sorbonne, the parliament, the archbishop, who all thought their privileges invaded, were against them. But as they gradually acquired the support of the most zealous catholics, and more particularly of the court, and were urgently recommended by them for their exemplary lives and their pure faith, which had caused many wanderers to return to the true way, and east and west to acknowledge the presence of the Lord; as also public opinion had undergone the change we have just described\*, they

\* In a manuscript in the Berlin Library, MSS. Gall., n. 75, we find the following document amongst others: "Délibérations et consultations au parlement de Paris touchant l'établissement des Jesuites en France;" in which are especially contained the

prevailed over all opposition, and obtained in 1564 the privilege of instructing youth. Lyons had already opened her gates to them. Whether it was owing to their good fortune or to their merits, at this moment they produced from among their ranks several men of striking talent. In opposition to the huguenot preachers, they put forward Edmond Augier, who was born in France, but educated under Ignatius Loyola at Rome, and of whom the protestants themselves are said to have admitted, that had he not been clothed in catholic vestments, there never could have existed a more eloquent orator. By his preaching and writings he produced an extraordinary impression. The huguenots were completely worsted, especially in Lyons; their preachers were driven away, their churches destroyed, and their books burned. On the other hand, a magnificent college was erected for the jesuits in 1567. They possessed likewise an eminent professor, Maldonat, whose exposition of the Bible drew the youth in crowds and riveted their attention. From these principal cities they traversed the country in all directions, fixed themselves at Thoulouse and Bourdeaux, and wherever they appeared the number of catholic communicants increased. The catechism of Augier obtained universal approbation; in less than eight years thirty-eight thousand copies were sold in Paris alone\*.

messages from the court to the parliament in favour of the jesuits: "*infracta et ferocia pectora*," it says, "*gladio fidei acuto penetrarunt*."

\* We meet with these notices in Orlandinus and his conti-

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It is indeed possible that this revived popularity of catholic ideas, which chiefly prevailed in the metropolis, had its influence upon the court ; at all events the court received the support of public opinion, when in 1568, after long hesitation, it once more declared itself decidedly catholic.

The principal cause of this was, that Catherine of Medici felt that her power was more secure since her son had attained his majority, and there was no further necessity for keeping terms as before with the huguenot nobles. The example of Alva showed how much was to be effected by a steadfast will ; the pope also, who incessantly exhorted the court not to suffer the insolence of the rebels to increase, nor to use any longer forbearance with them, at length accompanied his warnings with the permission to alienate church property, which brought a million and a half of livres to the treasury\*. Catherine of Medici, following the example set a year before by the Governess of the Netherlands, imposed on the French nobility an oath, by which they bound themselves to renounce every engagement they had contracted without the previous knowledge of the king†. She insisted on the dismissal of all magistrates who were suspected of holding the new opinions, and she declared to Philip II. in September 1563, that she would tolerate no religion but the catholic.

nuers, pars i. lib. vi. n. 30. ii. iv. 84. iii. iii. 169. and further. Juvencius, v. 24, 769, gives an account of the life of Augier.

\* Catena, Vita di Pio V., p. 79.

† V. the oath in Serranus, *Commentarii de Statu Religionis in Regno Galliæ*, iii. 153.

This was a determination which could not be carried into execution in France without an appeal to arms.

Accordingly war immediately broke out, and was undertaken with the most extraordinary zeal by the catholic party. The king of Spain sent, by request of the pope, veteran troops under experienced leaders to the assistance of the French. Pius V. collected contributions in the states of the church, and subsidies from the Italian princes ; even the holy father himself sent, as his contingent, a small army across the Alps, to whom he gave the cruel instructions to slay every huguenot who should fall into their hands, and give no quarter.

The huguenots also collected their forces ; they too were inspired by religious fervour, and in the papal soldiers beheld the army of Antichrist advancing against them. They too gave no quarter, nor were they less provided with foreign aid than their adversaries ; nevertheless they were completely routed at Moncontour.

With what joy did Pius V. place the standards taken from the huguenots in the churches of St. Peter and St. John Lateran ! He conceived the most daring hopes : it was under these circumstances that he uttered sentence of excommunication against queen Elizabeth, and he even sometimes flattered himself with the thoughts of heading in person an expedition against England.

But these extravagant hopes were never fulfilled.

It now happened, as had often been the case,

that a change of opinion manifested itself in the French court, which, though originating in trifling circumstances of a personal nature, brought about a complete revolution in the most important affairs. The king grudged his brother, the duke of Anjou, who had led the troops at Moncontour, the honour of conquering the huguenots and quieting the kingdom. This feeling was exasperated by those around him, who in like manner were jealous of the household of the duke of Anjou, and feared that power would go hand in hand with glory. Not only were the advantages already gained languidly followed up, but in a short time another and a more moderate party, which pursued a policy directly contrary to that of the high catholic party headed by Anjou, appeared at court, made peace with the huguenots, and invited their leaders to the palace. In 1569, the French, in league with Spain and the pope, had attempted to hurl Elizabeth of England from her throne; in the summer of 1572, they entered into a league with this very queen to wrest the Netherlands from Spain.

The change, however, was too sudden; the measures were taken with too little deliberation for it to be lasting. The most violent explosion of public opinion followed, and matters again took their former course.

It is indeed certain, that Catherine of Medici, while she entered with zeal and cordiality into the policy and plans of the dominant party, which favoured her views, at least in so far as they appeared calculated to advance her youngest son, Alençon, to

the throne of England, yet had everything in preparation to carry into execution a contrary stroke of policy. She used every art to draw the huguenots to Paris ; numerous as they were, they here found themselves surrounded and held in check by a far larger population, which was in a state of military organization and fanatical excitement. She had previously given the pope tolerably clear intimations what her intentions were ; but had she still hesitated, the circumstances which occurred at this moment must have decided her line of conduct at once. The huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay ; with that resistless and magical power which she possessed over her children, she reawakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son ; it cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms, and that word she spoke ; every individual huguenot of note was delivered over to the vengeance of his personal enemy. Catherine had said she only wished for the death of six men, and the charge of their death alone would she take upon her conscience. The number of the victims was fifty thousand\*.

The French thus outdid all that the Spaniards had perpetrated in the Netherlands. What the latter accomplished by degrees, by a calculating policy, and according to forms of law, the former carried into execution in the heat of passion, with the abs-

\* For brevity's sake I here refer the reader to my disquisition on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, in the *Histor. Polit. Zeitschrift*, ii. iii.

ence of all formalities, and by the aid of a populace drunk with fanaticism. The result appeared the same ; there remained not a single leader under whose banner the scattered huguenots could rally ; many fled, numbers surrendered themselves ; mass was again attended in various places, and the protestant preachers were silenced. Philip II. saw with pleasure his example imitated and surpassed, and offered to Charles IX., who had now, for the first time, earned his title of the most christian king, military aid for the completion of his undertaking. Gregory XIII. celebrated this great event by a solemn procession to San Luigi. The Venetians, who appeared to have no special interests at stake, expressed in their official despatches to their minister, their satisfaction at this “ mark of God’s favour.”

But can crimes of so bloody a dye be crowned with lasting success ? Are they not at variance with the deeper mysteries of human events, and with those inviolable laws of nature, which, even when not understood, are in constant though silent operation ? Men may blind themselves for a time, but they cannot shake that order of the moral world which regulates the very principles of their being, with a necessity not less inexorable than that which guides the stars in their courses.

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§ 6. RESISTANCE OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE  
NETHERLANDS, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.

Macchiavel advises his prince to execute in rapid succession whatever cruel measures he thinks necessary ; but when those are accomplished, gradually to adopt a more merciful system.

It almost seemed as if the Spaniards endeavoured to follow this counsel to the letter in the Netherlands. They appeared at length to think that a sufficient amount of property had been confiscated, a sufficient number of lives sacrificed ; in short, that the period for mercy was arrived. In the year 1572, the Venetian minister in Madrid states his conviction that the prince of Orange would obtain his pardon if he would ask for it. The king received with great kindness the deputies of the Netherlands, who came to petition for the remission of the impost of the tenth penny, and even went so far as to thank them for their trouble.

He had determined to recall Alva, and send a milder viceroy. But it was now too late ; the rebellion broke out at the very conclusion of the treaty between the French and English which preceded the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Alva had imagined the contest was over, whereas it now in fact first began. The enemy was beaten by Alva whenever he met them in the open field ; but in the towns of Holland and of Zealand, where the reli-

gious excitement had been the most profound, and protestantism had acquired a thorough and active organization, he encountered a resistance which he could not overcome.

In Haarlem, when all the provisions, and even the grass which grew in the streets, were exhausted, the inhabitants determined to cut their way through the besiegers with their wives and children. The want of unity in the garrison at length compelled them to surrender, but they had succeeded in proving that resistance to the Spaniards was possible.

In Alkmar, the inhabitants declared themselves for the prince of Orange at the very moment the enemy appeared before their gates. Their defence was as heroical as their determination ; not a man deserted his post, however grievously wounded, and before these walls the Spaniards received their first check. The country breathed again, and new courage inspired the people. The inhabitants of Leyden declared that sooner than surrender they would devour their left arms, that they might retain strength to defend themselves with their right; nor were the means they adopted for their defence less daring and desperate than their words. They called to their aid the billows of the Northern ocean. Their sufferings had reached their height, when they cut the dams which had hitherto protected them from its incursions, and a driving north-west wind having set in just at this moment, the whole country was soon several feet under water.

'The French protestants had again taken heart. As soon as they perceived that their government,

notwithstanding the ferocity it had recently displayed, hesitated, delayed, and resorted to contradictory measures, they took up arms, and war broke out afresh. Sancerre and Rochelle rivalled Leyden and Alkmar in the gallantry of their defence. The voice of the preachers of the Gospel of peace was raised to call men to arms ; women vied with men in courage and fortitude ; it was the heroic age of the protestantism of the west.

The deeds of cruelty committed or countenanced by the most powerful sovereigns provoked a resistance which displayed itself in various nameless points,—a resistance which no force could put down, and which had its hidden origin in the depths of religious conviction.

But we cannot here follow out the progress and vicissitudes of the war in France or the Netherlands ; these details would carry us too far from the main point of our subject, and are to be found in many other authors ; it is sufficient for our purpose to state that the protestants held their ground.

In 1573 and the following years, the government of France was already frequently compelled to come to terms with the huguenots, and to renew concessions formerly granted them.

In the year 1576 the power of the government in the Netherlands had utterly fallen.

Whilst the Spanish troops were in a state of complete insubordination from want of pay, all the provinces had united against them ; those which had previously remained loyal, with those in revolt ; those in which catholicism predominated, with those



wholly protestant. The states-general took the reins of government into their own hands, named captains-general, stadtholders, and magistrates, and garrisoned the fortified towns with their own troops\*.

The treaty of Ghent was signed, by which the provinces bound themselves to drive out the Spaniards, and keep them out of the country. The king sent his brother, who might be called a Netherlander, to govern them according to the laws and usages of Charles V. But Don John was not even acknowledged until he had promised to fulfil the chief conditions which were required of him; he was forced to recognise the treaty of Ghent, and to dismiss his Spanish troops; and scarcely did he make the slightest movement to shake off the restraints by which he was bound, when all parties rose up against him, declared him an enemy to his country, and the leaders of the provinces invited another prince of his family to govern in his stead.

The principle of local and federal government was victorious over that of monarchy, and the Spanish was superseded by domestic rule. This necessarily brought in its train other consequences. The northern provinces, which had first declared war, and had thus led the way to the accomplishment of so mighty a change, at once acquired a natural ascendancy in the conduct of the war and the government; hence followed the propagation of the re-

\* This turn of affairs is rendered particularly intelligible in Tassis, iii. 15—19.

formed religion throughout the United Provinces. Protestantism found its way into Mechlin, Bruges, and Ypres ; in Antwerp the churches were divided between the two confessions, and the catholics were sometimes forced to content themselves with the choirs of those churches of which they had so lately had exclusive possession. In Ghent the protestant tendency was blended with civil troubles, and gained complete ascendancy. Full security had been given by the treaty of Ghent for the maintenance of the catholic church in its ancient condition ; but now the states-general put forth an edict, which guaranteed equal freedom to the exercise of both religions. Everywhere, even in those provinces which were mainly catholic, protestant opinions were actively promulgated, and appearances would have justified the expectation that protestantism would eventually obtain a complete and universal victory.

What a position was that now occupied by the prince of Orange ! But lately an exile and anxious only for pardon, and now in possession of a firmly-established power in the northern provinces ; Ruwart of Brabant, and all-powerful in the assembly of the States ; recognised by a great and successful religious and political party as their head and leader ; and in strict alliance with the protestants of Europe, more especially with those of Germany, whose friendship, as neighbours, was of the most importance to him.

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In Germany, likewise, the aggressions of the catholics were met by the protestants with a resistance which seemed to promise great results. We perceive it in the general transactions of the Germanic body, in the meetings of the electoral princes, and at the imperial diet ; though here, agreeably to the nature of the German mode of transacting business, it led to no positive results. The resistance broke forth with the greatest activity where the attacks had chiefly been made,—in the several territories and districts. The contest was now principally carried on, as we have seen, in the ecclesiastical principalities; there scarcely existed one where the prince had not made an attempt again to render the catholic the dominant party. Protestantism, which also felt its own strength, strove with not less energy and foresight to bring the spiritual principalities over to its side.

In the year 1577, Gebhard Truchsess was created archbishop of Cologne, chiefly through the personal interest which count Nuenar exercised over the chapter ; and this powerful protestant well knew the character of the man he had recommended. In truth, the acquaintance of Gebhard with Agnes von Mansfeld, to which his conversion has been attributed, was not wanting to give him an anti-catholic feeling. Even at his solemn entrance into Cologne, when the clergy met him in procession, he did not alight from his horse, according to ancient custom, to kiss the cross ; he appeared in the church in military uniform, nor did he choose to officiate at high mass ; from the very beginning he

attached himself to the party of the prince of Orange, and his principal councillors were calvinists\*. As he did not hesitate to mortgage land for the purpose of raising troops; as he endeavoured to gain over the nobles, and favoured that party among the guilds of Cologne who began to oppose the practices of the catholic church, he betrayed the design which he afterwards more openly manifested, the conversion of an ecclesiastical into a temporal electorate.

Gebhard Truchsess still outwardly conformed, occasionally at least, to the catholic rite; but the neighbouring sees in Westphalia and Lower Saxony fell, as we have already seen, completely into protestant hands. The elevation of duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was of peculiar importance. While yet very young, and a good lutheran, he had been nominated to the bishopric of Bremen, then to that of Osnabruck, and in 1577 to the bishopric of Paderborn†. Even in Münster he had a large party on his side, consisting of all the younger members of the chapter; and his further elevation was only hindered by the immediate interference of Gregory XIII. (who declared a resignation already made, invalid,) and by the resolute opposition of the high catholic party. They were, however, not able to place another bishop in that see.

It is evident what an impulse must have been given to protestant opinions in Rhenish Westphalia (where they were already widely disseminated,) by

\* Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, t. i. p. 331.

† Hamelmann, *Oldenburgisches Chronikon*, s. 436.

these dispositions of its spiritual rulers. Nothing was wanting but a lucky coincidence or a successful stroke, to give it a decided preponderance in this country.

Such an event would indeed have produced a great reaction throughout Germany. The same chances existed for the bishoprics in Upper as in Lower Germany; and as yet, even in those territories where the restoration had begun, the opposition was by no means overcome.

Of this Balthasar, abbot of Fulda, had bitter experience! The intercession of the neighbouring princes failed to diminish the weight of grievances laid before the diet; the abbot proceeded with reckless obstinacy in his restoration of the ancient faith, and went from place to place to bring about its accomplishment, when one day in the summer of 1576, as he happened to be in Hamelburg for this purpose, he was attacked by his nobles with arms in their hands, and besieged in his own house; every means was employed against him, and as his neighbours looked on complacently, and the bishop of Würzburg even lent his assistance to his enemies, he found himself compelled to abdicate the government of his own dominions\*.

\* Schannat, *Historia Fuldensis*, ps. iii. p. 268, gives a letter from the abbot to pope Gregory, (dated Aug. 1, 1576,) from the Archives of the Vatican, which is eminently remarkable. "Clamantes," he says of the threats of his enemies, "nisi consentiam, ut administratio ditionis meæ episcopo tradatur, non aliter se me ac canem rabidum interfecturos, tum Saxoniae et Hassiae principes in meum gregem immissuros."

Nor did duke Albert carry everything before him in Bavaria. He complained to the pope that his nobility would rather renounce the sacrament altogether, than receive it in one kind.

But it was of far greater importance, that in the Austrian provinces protestantism gradually acquired a more legitimate and recognised existence. Under the mild and prudent sway of Maximilian II. it had become established in Upper and Lower Austria. Pope Pius V. consequently took an inexpressible aversion to that emperor ; when the conversation once turned on the war he was carrying on against the Turks, the pope openly said, he did not know to which party he wished victory the least\*. Protestantism, however, made unchecked progress, even in the inner provinces of Austria. In the year 1568, there were already in Carinthia twenty-four evangelical pastors, and in 1571 there was only one catholic in the council of the capital town of Styria. The protestant creed indeed found no support from the feudal lord of these provinces, the archduke Charles, who rather on the contrary sought to introduce the jesuits, and favoured them by every means at his disposal ; but the States were too powerful for him†. They had the upper hand in the diets, where the business of administration

\* Tiepolo, *Relatione di Pio IV. e V.* : he adds besides, “ In proposito della morte del principe di Spagna apertam<sup>te</sup> disse il papa haverla sentita con grandissimo dispiacere, perchè non vorria che li stati del re cattolico capitassero in mano de’ Tedeschi.

† Socher, *Historia Societatis Jesu Provinciæ Austriæ*, i. iv. 166, 184 ; v. 33.

and of the defence of the country was mixed up with religious matters. They exacted religious concessions in requital for every assent they gave to a political measure. In the year 1578, at the diet of Bruck on the Muhr, the archduke was compelled to allow the free exercise of the confession of Augsburg, not only in the domains of the nobles and landed proprietors, where indeed he could not easily have prevented it, but also in the four important towns of Grätz, Judenburg, Klagenfurt, and Laibach\*. Hence protestantism acquired in these provinces the same regular organization as in the Austrian dominions; a protestant church ministry was established, a church and school discipline after the model of that of Würtemberg was adopted; here and there, for example at St. Veit, the catholics were excluded from the election of councillors†, and were no longer permitted to fill the provincial offices;—circumstances, by favour of which the protestant opinions gained a decided superiority, even in those districts bordering on Italy. The impulse which the jesuits had given met here with a steady and determined counteraction.

We may consider protestantism in the year 1578, as still the dominant creed of all the Austrian provinces, whether of the German, Slavonic, or Hungarian tongues, with the single exception of the

\* Supplication to his Imp. Rom. Maj. and intercession of the three principalities and the state, in Lehmann, *De Pace Religionis*, p. 461; a document, which rectifies the account of Khevenhiller, *Ann. Ferdinandeï*, i. 6.

† Hermann in the *Carinthian Zeitschrift*, v. p. 189.

Tyrol. The result of our observation of the general religious aspect of Germany at this period is, that the progress we have seen made by restored catholicism, was held in check by a successful resistance, and met by a corresponding progress on the part of the new confession.

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§ 7. CONTRASTS EXHIBITED IN THE REST OF  
EUROPE.

We are now arrived at a remarkable epoch, in which the two grand religious tendencies are once more aroused to action, with equal ardour and equal hope of victory.

But affairs had already materially changed from their former position. In the earlier ages of the reformation both parties sought to come to an understanding ; a reconciliation had been attempted in Germany, prepared in France, and called for in the Netherlands, and appeared, indeed, to be still feasible, since practical toleration partially existed. But now their differences seemed to stand out with greater sharpness and animosity, and through all Europe they challenged each other to the combat. It is well worth our while to glance over the state of affairs as they stood in the years 1578–9.

Let us begin in the east, with Poland, where the jesuits had already made their way, and were regarded by the bishops as allies and supporters of



their own power. Cardinal Hosius, the bishop of Ermeland, founded a college for them in Braunsberg in the year 1569, and they fixed themselves, with the assistance of the bishops of those places, in Pultusk and Posen. Bishop Valerian of Wilna thought it a matter of the utmost importance to anticipate the Lithuanian lutherans, who intended to establish a university on their own principles, by the endowment of a jesuit school in his see. He was already old and feeble, and wished his last days to be marked by this meritorious act. The first members of the company of Jesus arrived in the year 1570\*.

The immediate consequence of these exertions on the part of the catholics was, that the protestants took measures to maintain their ground. In the convocation diet of 1573, they carried a resolution to the effect, that no one should be injured or persecuted on account of his religion†; and the bishops were obliged to yield. The example of the disturbances in the Netherlands was adduced to prove to them what dangers might arise from their opposition: from that time the kings of Poland took an oath to maintain this resolution. In the year 1579 the payment of tithes to the clergy was wholly suspended, and the nuncio asserts that, by this act alone, twelve hundred parish priests were left wholly destitute: at the same time a supreme court of judicature, composed of laity and clergy, was

\* Sacchinus, *Hist. Soc. Jes.*, p. ii. lib. viii. 114, p. iii. lib. i. 112, lib. vi. 103—108.

† Fredro, *Henricus I. rex Polonorum*, p. 114.

established, which decided all causes, ecclesiastical as well as temporal. It was matter of astonishment in Rome that the Polish clergy could acquiesce in such an institution.

The same struggle was going on in Sweden as in Poland, and with the most singular characteristics. It immediately concerned the person of the prince, who was indeed the object of the contest. In all the sons of Gustavus Vasa, “the brood of king Gustavus,” as the Swedes called them, there was a singular mixture of reflection and wilfulness, of devotion and violence. The most learned among them was the second, John. Religious dissensions touched him the more nearly from his marriage with a catholic princess, Catherine of Poland, who had shared his prison, in the narrow solitude of which he had often received consolation from a catholic priest. He studied the fathers, in order to gather from their representations a correct idea of the primitive state of the church. He delighted in books which treated of the possibility of a unity of faith, and was continually revolving in his mind the questions connected with that subject. When he succeeded to the throne, he accordingly made some advances to the catholic church; he published a liturgy, framed after the model of that of Trent, and in which Swedish theologians imagined they detected Romish doctrines\*. As he thought he should need

\* They are all drawn up in the “*Judicium Prædicatorum Holmenss. de publicata Liturgia*” in Baaz, *Inventarium Ecclesiarum Suegoth*, p. 393.

the pope's mediation, both with the catholic powers generally, in his Russian war, and with the Spanish court particularly, in the matter of the maternal inheritance of his wife, he did not scruple to send one of the nobles of his kingdom as ambassador to Rome. He also secretly directed certain jesuits to come over to Stockholm from the Netherlands, and entrusted to their charge an important establishment for education.

His conduct naturally raised the highest hopes in Rome; and accordingly Antonio Possevin, one of the ablest members of the company of Jesus, was selected to make a strenuous attempt to convert king John.

Possevin appeared in Sweden in the year 1578. The king was not inclined to give way on all points. He demanded that the clergy should be allowed to marry, that the laity should receive the cup at the sacrament, that mass should be said in the vernacular tongue, that the church should renounce its claims on confiscated estates, &c. Possevin had no authority to go into these questions; he therefore promised to communicate them to the papal see, and then passed to the dogmatical points of controversy. In these he was far more fortunate. After a few conferences, and some time for reflection, the king declared himself resolved to make the *professio fidei* according to the formula of the confession of Trent. This he accordingly did; he then confessed to Possevin, who once more asked him whether he conformed to the papal decision in re-

gard to the communion in one kind ; and on the king's declaration that he did, Possevin solemnly granted him absolution. It almost appears as if this absolution were the chief object of the wishes and the wants of the king. He had caused his brother to be put to death, certainly with the previous sanction of his estates, but still it was the death of a brother, and marked with every circumstance of violence. This absolution seemed to tranquillize his spirit. Possevin prayed to God to permit him fully to turn the heart of the monarch. The king arose, and throwing himself into the arms of his confessor, exclaimed, " As I embrace thee, so do I likewise the Roman catholic faith for ever." He then received the Lord's supper according to the catholic ritual.

After this satisfactory fulfilment of his mission, Possevin went back to Rome, rendered an account of it to the pope, and also, under promise of secrecy, to the most powerful catholic sovereigns. It now only remained to take into consideration those demands of the king upon which he made the re-establishment of the catholic faith in his kingdom mainly to depend. Possevin was a man of great address, eloquent, and full of talent for negotiation ; but he allowed himself to be too easily persuaded that his success was complete. From his representation, pope Gregory did not think it necessary to give way on any point ; on the contrary, he required of the king a voluntary and unconditional conversion. He therefore despatched the

jesuit a second time, charged with letters to this intent, and with indulgencies for all who would become converts.

In the meanwhile the opposite party had not been idle ; admonitory letters had been sent by protestant princes, for the account of Possevin's mission had instantly spread over Europe. Chytræus had dedicated to the king his treatise on the Confession of Augsburg, which had made some impression on the learned monarch. From this moment the protestants never again lost sight of him.

Possevin now arrived at Stockholm, no longer, as before, in a civilian's dress, but in the customary habit of his order, and furnished with a vast quantity of catholic books. Even his mere appearance made an unfavourable impression ; he hesitated for a moment, whether he should produce the pope's answer, but at length could withhold it no longer, and communicated it to the king in an audience which lasted two hours. Who can penetrate the secret workings of a wavering and unsteady spirit ? Perhaps the self-love of the prince was wounded by so absolute a refusal of his terms ; perhaps too he was convinced that nothing was to be accomplished in Sweden without the proposed concessions : he had no inclination to abdicate his throne for the sake of religion. In short this audience was decisive. From that hour the king showed a marked aversion to the emissary of the pope. He required his jesuit school-men to receive the sacrament in both kinds, and to perform mass in the Swedish lan-

guage ; and as they did not obey him, (which indeed they could not do,) he refused them the provision they had hitherto enjoyed. They quitted Stockholm shortly afterwards, doubtless not merely, as they gave out, on account of the plague. The protestant nobles, the younger brother of the king, Charles of Sudermania, who was inclined to calvinism, and the envoys from Lubec, neglected nothing which could increase this growing aversion. The only remaining stay and hope of the catholics was the queen, and after her death, the heir to the throne ; for the time, the sovereign power in Sweden remained substantially protestant\*.

In England the government became more so every day under queen Elizabeth. But there existed in that kingdom points of attack of another kind : it was full of catholics ; it was not the population of Ireland alone that adhered with constancy to the faith and ritual of their ancestors, but in England probably one half of the nation, if not, as some have maintained, a larger proportion, were still attached to catholicism. It is always matter of astonishment that the English catholics, at least for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, submitted to the protestant laws of that queen. They took the oath which was required of them, although diametrically opposed to the papal authority ; they attend-

\* In this whole account I follow the reports of the jesuits, (which, by what I can find, have not hitherto been used,) which may be seen at length in Sacchinus, *Hist. Societatis Jesu*, pars iv. lib. vi. n. 64—76, and lib. vii. n. 83—111.

ed the protestant churches, and their consciences were satisfied if they kept together in going and coming, and avoided the society of protestants\*.

Rome founded great hopes upon this condition of things, and was convinced that some occasion, some slight advantage alone was wanting to arouse all the catholics in the country to resistance. Pius V. had declared that he wished he could shed his blood in an expedition against England. Gregory XIII., who never abandoned the idea of this enterprise, was rather inclined to employ the warlike turn and illustrious position of Don John of Austria for its accomplishment; he therefore sent his nuncio Sega, who had been with Don John in the Netherlands, to Spain, expressly with the view of gaining over king Philip to his object.

Either, however, from Philip's jealousy of the ambitious designs of his brother, and his aversion to any new political embarrassment, or from some other impediments, these vast schemes came to nothing, and their projectors were forced to be satisfied with less brilliant enterprises.

\* *Relatione del presente Stato d' Inghilterra, cavata da una lettera scritta di Londra, etc., Roma 1590, (printed pamphlet,) is entirely in accordance on this head with a passage from Ribadaneira, De Schismate, which has been quoted by Hallam (Constitutional History of England, i. p. 162), and is without doubt the original source. " Si permettevano giuramenti impii contra l' autorità della sede apostolica, e questo con poco o nissun scrupolo di coscienza. Allora tutti andavano communemente alle sinagoghe degli eretici et alle prediche loro menandovi li figli et famiglie. . . . si teneva allora per segno distintivo sufficiente venire alle chiese prima degli eretici e non partirsi in compagnia loro."*

Pope Gregory then turned his eyes to Ireland. Ireland had been represented to him as unsurpassed in the strictness and constancy of her attachment to the catholic faith; a victim to the tyranny and cruelty and rapacity of England; her dissensions fostered, her barbarism designedly perpetuated, her conscience trammelled and violated: he was told that she was consequently ready at any moment to break out into open rebellion; that nothing was necessary but to send a few troops to her assistance; that an army of five thousand men would conquer Ireland; that there was not a fortress which could hold out above four days\*.

Pope Gregory was easily persuaded. There happened to be staying at Rome at that time an English exile, one Thomas Stukely; an adventurer by nature, but possessed in an extraordinary degree of the talent of gaining access to men in power, and winning their confidence. The pope had made him his chamberlain, and given him the title of marquis of Leinster; he also advanced 40,000 scudi to equip him with vessels and men: Stukely was to touch on the coast of France, where he was to be

\* Discorso sopra il Regno d'Irlanda e della Gente che bisognaria per conquistarlo, fatto a Gregorio XIII., Library at Vienna, Fugger MSS. The government of the queen is declared to be a tyranny: "Lasciando il governo a ministri Inglesi, i quali per arricchire se stessi usavano tutta l'arte della tirannide in quel regno, come trasportando le commodità del paese in Inghilterra, tassando il popolo contra le leggi e privilegi antichi, e mantenendo guerra e fattioni tra i paesani,—non volendo gli Inglesi che gli abitanti imparassero la differenza fra il viver libero e la servitù."



joined by another small body of men, got together (also with the pope's assistance) by an Irish refugee of the name of Geraldine. Philip, who had no wish to engage in a war, but was not unwilling to give Elizabeth some occupation at home, advanced money for the same purpose\*. Stukely, however, in the most unexpected manner, allowed himself to be persuaded to join the expedition of king Sebastian against the Moors, with the troops destined for Ireland, and found his death in that enterprise. Geraldine was reduced to try his fortune alone; he landed in June 1579, obtained some advantages, and made himself master of the fort which commanded the harbour of Smerwick. Meanwhile the earl of Desmond was in arms against the queen, and the whole country in agitation. But one reverse soon followed another, the greatest of which was, that Geraldine himself was killed in a skirmish. The earl of Desmond could now no longer hold out. The assistance given by the pope was not sufficient, and the money upon which the Irish counted was not forthcoming. The English maintained their victorious position, and punished the rebellion with fearful cruelty. Men and women were driven together into barns, and there burned, children were strangled, all Munster laid waste, and English settlers poured into the devastated province.

\* According to the nuncio Segá, in his *Relatione compendiosa* (MS. in the Berlin library), 20,000 scudi. “*Altre mercedi fece fare al barone d' Acres, al S<sup>r</sup> Carlo Buono et altri nobili Inglesi che si trovavano in Madrid, ch' egli spinse andare a questa impresa insieme col vescovo Lionese d' Irlanda.*”

To accomplish anything of importance, the attempt must evidently be made in England itself; but this appeared impracticable unless the political aspect of Europe should change: and should this take place, if they hoped to find the catholic population not wholly altered, if they expected to find them still catholics, they must afford them spiritual assistance.

William Allen first conceived the project of collecting together the young English catholics who were residing on the continent for the prosecution of their studies; and, principally by the aid of pope Gregory, he established a college for them at Douay. But this did not satisfy the pope, who wished to secure a retreat for these fugitives under his own eye, and to place them in a more quiet and less dangerous station than Douay, in the turbulent Netherlands. He therefore established an English college at Rome, granted it a rich abbey, and consigned it to the care of the jesuits in 1579\*.

None were admitted into this college but those who pledged themselves to return to England when their studies were completed, and to preach the Roman catholic faith. This was the exclusive end of their training. Excited as they were by that religious enthusiasm which the spiritual practices of Ignatius Loyola tended to generate, the missionaries whom pope Gregory the Great sent to convert the Anglo-

\* We may here compare the relation of the jesuits in Sacchini, pars iv. lib. vi. 6. lib. vii. 10—30, with the narratives of Camden, *Rerum Britannic.*, tom. i. p. 315.

Saxons were held up as examples for their imitation.

A few of the older students led the way. In the year 1580, two English jesuits, Parsons and Campion, returned to England. Constantly pursued, and reduced to the necessity of perpetually changing their names and their dress, they at length succeeded in reaching the capital, where they separated, and traversed, the one the northern, the other the southern counties, principally residing in the houses of the catholic noblemen. Their coming was always announced, but their hosts cautiously received them as strangers. Meanwhile a chapel was prepared in the innermost chamber of the house, into which they were conducted, and there they found the members of the family assembled to receive their blessing. The missionary seldom staid more than one night. The evening was occupied in religious preparation and in confession; the next morning mass was said, the Lord's supper administered, and a sermon preached. All the catholics who were within reach assembled, and their number was often very great. That religion which for nine hundred years had extended its sway over the island, was now once more taught, with the additional zest of secrecy and novelty. Synods were held by stealth; a printing press was set up, first in a village near London, and afterwards in a lonely house in a neighbouring wood; catholic writings suddenly reappeared, composed with all the skill which constant practice in controversy gives, often with elegance, and calculated to make a deeper im-

pression from the mystery of their origin. The immediate consequence of these publications was, that the catholics ceased to attend the protestant service, or to observe the ecclesiastical laws of the queen ; and that, on the other side, the contest of opinions was carried on with greater vehemence, and persecution became more severe and crushing\*.

In all countries, wherever the principle of catholic restoration was not possessed of sufficient strength to gain ascendancy, its effect was to widen the breach between the parties, and to render their differences more striking and irreconcilable.

Of this Switzerland afforded another example, although each canton had long possessed religious independence, and the disagreements which occasionally broke out concerning the terms of the confederation were very nearly settled.

But the jesuits now found their way into this country. In the year 1574, at the suggestion of a colonel of the Swiss guard in Rome, they went to Lucern, and found sympathy and support, especially from the family of Pfyffer†. Louis Pfyffer alone is supposed to have contributed 30,000 guilders towards the foundation of the jesuits' college ; Philip II. and the Guises are also said to have advanced something towards it ; and Gregory XIII., who never withheld his assistance from such institutions, gave the means to purchase a library. The people of Lucern were delighted, and wrote expressly to re-

\* Campiani Vita et Martyrium, as well as Sacchinus. Ingolstadii, 1584.

† Agricola, 177.

quest the general of the order not to deprive them of the fathers of the company who had already arrived : “ It was their most earnest wish to see their youth well brought up in sound learning, and more especially in piety and a christian life.” They promised, in return, to spare neither pains nor labour, neither their property nor their blood, to comply with every wish of the order\*.

An opportunity was soon afforded them of showing their renovated zeal for catholicism in a matter of some importance.

The city of Geneva had placed itself under the peculiar protection of Berne, and now endeavoured to draw into this alliance Soleure and Freiburg, which usually attached themselves to Berne in political, although not perhaps in ecclesiastical matters. With respect to Soleure they succeeded. A catholic city took under its protection the focus of western protestantism. Gregory XIII. was alarmed, and used every effort, at any rate to deter Freiburg from following the example of her neighbour. Lucern now came to his assistance ; an embassy from that city united its exertions to those of the papal nuncio. Freiburg not only refused to enter into the proposed alliance, but invited the jesuits ; and, with the help of the pope, a college soon arose in this canton.

In the meanwhile the influence of Carlo Borromeo’s unwearied zeal and spotless character began

\* *Literæ Lucernensium ad Everardum Mercurianum in Sacchinus, Hist. Soc. Jesu, iv. v. 145.*

to be felt; more especially in the Wald cantons. Melchior Lussi, the landamman of Unterwalden, was esteemed his particular friend. Carlo Borromeo sent thither in the first place capuchin friars, who made a great impression in the mountain districts by the austerity and simplicity of their lives; to them succeeded the pupils of the Swiss college, which he had founded for this express purpose.

Their influence was soon traced in all public affairs. In the autumn of 1579, the catholic cantons concluded a treaty with the bishop of Basle, by which they promised not only to protect him in religious matters, but also, if opportunity offered, to bring back "to the true catholic faith" those of his subjects who had become protestants; engagements which naturally aroused the lutheran part of the community. The animosity became fiercer than it had been for a long time. A papal nuncio arrived, who was received in the catholic cantons with the greatest possible honours; while from the protestants he experienced nothing but contempt and insult.

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#### § 8. CRISIS IN THE NETHERLANDS.

The religious condition of Europe was now as follows.

Restored catholicism, under the forms it had assumed in Italy and Spain, had made a formidable inroad upon the rest of Europe. In Germany it had achieved no inconsiderable conquests, and had

made progress in many other countries ; yet it had everywhere encountered a vigorous resistance. In France the protestants were protected by extensive concessions, and by their strong political and military position. They predominated in the Netherlands. They ruled paramount in England, Scotland, and in the north. In Poland they had extorted peremptory laws in their favour, and a great influence in the general affairs of the kingdom. Throughout the whole Austrian dominions they stood, armed with their old provincial rights, face to face with the government. In Lower Germany a complete change appeared to threaten the religious institutions.

In this state of affairs, it was of the utmost importance to know what would be the issue of the contest in the Netherlands, where there was continually a fresh resort to arms.

It was impossible that Philip II. could intend to repeat measures which had proved so abortive,—nor was he indeed in a condition to attempt them ; it was his good fortune that he found friends who came spontaneously to his aid, and that protestantism was arrested in its career by an unexpected and invincible obstacle. It will be well worth our while to pause for a moment over this important event.

In the first place, it was by no means agreeable to all parties in the provinces, and least of all to the Walloon nobility, to see the prince of Orange acquiring so much power.

Under the king's government, these nobles had always been the first to take horse in the French

wars ; and the leaders of note, whom the people were accustomed to follow, had thence acquired a certain independence and authority. Under the government of the states, they were thrown into the background ; their pay was irregular: the army of the states consisted principally of Dutch, English and Germans, who enjoyed the greatest confidence as being undoubted protestants.

When the Walloons acceded to the treaty of Ghent, they had flattered themselves that they should obtain a leading influence in the general affairs of the country. But the very reverse took place. Power fell almost exclusively into the hands of the prince of Orange and his friends of Holland and Zealand.

Affairs of religion were blended with the personal disgusts thus engendered. Whatever was the cause, it is certain that the protestant movement found little sympathy in the Walloon provinces. The new bishops, almost all of them men of great activity and influence, had been peaceably installed in their sees. In Arras, we find François de Richardot, who had become thoroughly imbued with the principles of the restoration at the council of Trent ; we are told, in terms of boundless admiration, how he united in his discourses firmness and impressiveness with elegance and learning, and in his life, zeal with knowledge of the world \*: in Namur, Antoine Havet, a dominican,

\* Gazet, Histoire Ecclesiastique des Pays-Bas, p. 143, thinks him "subtile e solide en doctrine, nerveux en raisons, riche en



perhaps endowed with less worldly wisdom, but also a former member of the council, and equally indefatigable in the introduction of its regulations\*: in St. Omer, Gerhard de Hamericourt, one of the richest prelates in the provinces (also abbot of St. Bertin), whose ambition it was to promote the studies of the youth of his diocese, and to establish schools; and who first founded in the Netherlands a college for the order of Jesus, and endowed it with permanent funds. Under the guidance of these and other heads of the church, Artois, Hainault and Namur remained exempt from the savage fury of the iconoclastic storm which desolated the other provinces. As a consequence of the same causes†, the reaction excited by Alva's atrocities was not felt so powerfully there‡. The decrees of the council of Trent were, without much delay, discussed in the provincial councils and synods of the diocese, and put in execution. The influence of the jesuits spread rapidly from St. Omer, and still more from Douay. Philip II. had founded an university at Douay, in order to afford

sentences, copieux en discours, poly en son langage et grave en actions, mais surtout l'excellente piété et vertu, qui reluisait en sa vie, rendait son oraison persuasive."

\* Havensius, *De Erectione Novorum Episcopatum in Belgio*, p. 50.

† Hopper, *Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas*, 93, 98.

‡ According to *Viglii Commentarius Rerum Actarum super impositione Decimi Denarii*, in *Papendrecht, Analecta* i. 1, 292, the tenth penny was imposed with the assurance, that it should not be strictly exacted.

his subjects who spoke the French language an opportunity of studying in their own country. This formed a part of the plan for a close ecclesiastical constitution which he intended to establish throughout his dominions. Not far from Douay stood the benedictine abbey of Anchin, where, in the days when the fury of the image-breakers raged in the greater remaining part of the Netherlands, the abbot Jean Lentailleur practised the religious exercises of Ignatius with his monks. Filled with the enthusiasm generated by these practices, he determined to endow out of the revenues of his abbey a college of jesuits in the new university; this was accordingly opened in the year 1568, immediately acquired a certain independence of the authorities of the university, and prospered extremely; eight years afterwards the flourishing condition of the university, even in respect to literature, was chiefly ascribed to the jesuits. Not only was their college filled with pious and diligent young men, but the other colleges had greatly improved from the emulation it excited; it already furnished the whole university with excellent theologians, and the provinces of Artois and Hainault with numerous priests\*. By degrees this college became the central point of

\* *Testimonium Thomæ Stapleton* (rector of the university) in the year 1576, in *Sacchinus*, iv. iv. 124. “*Plurimos ex hoc patrum collegio*,”—that is to say, the *collegium Aquicintense*,—“*Artesia et Hannonia pastores, multos schola nostra theologos optime institutos et comparatos accepit*.” There follow still higher panegyrics, which we may the more easily omit, as Stapleton himself was also a jesuit.

modern catholicism for all the surrounding districts. In the year 1578, the Walloon provinces were esteemed by their contemporaries (to use the expression of one of them) in the highest degree catholic\*.

But the religious condition of the country was threatened no less than its political claims, by the ascendancy of protestantism.

Protestantism had assumed a form in Ghent, which in these times we should describe as revolutionary. The ancient liberties which had been destroyed by Charles V. in 1539, were by no means forgotten. Alva's cruelties had excited peculiar exasperation in this city, and the populace was of an ungovernable character, given to image-breaking and violently irritated against the priests. Two bold leaders, Imbize and Ryhove, took advantage of this state of popular feeling to put themselves at the head of the mob. Imbize conceived the project of establishing a pure republic, and dreamt that Ghent, under such a form of government, might become a second Rome. Their first act was to arrest their governor Arschot, while engaged in holding a meeting with some of the bishops and catholic leaders of the neighbouring towns; they then established the old constitution, of course with some alterations securing to themselves the possession of power; they seized upon the property of the church, abolished the bishoprick, confiscated the

\* Michiel, *Relatione di Francia*: "il conte (the governor of Hainault) è cattolichissimo, come è tutto quel contado insieme con quel d'Artoes che li è propinquo."

abbeys, and converted the hospitals and convents into barracks ; and finally they endeavoured by force of arms to introduce the same order of things among their neighbours\*.

Some of those leaders who had been taken prisoners together with Arschot belonged to the Walloon provinces, into which the troops of Ghent made incursions ; all those who were inclined to protestantism began to rouse themselves ; and from the example of Ghent, the democratic inclinations of the people were brought into intimate relation with their religious feelings. In Arras, an insurrection broke out against the senate ; in Douay itself the jesuits were driven out, against the wish of the senate, by a popular commotion ; their exile lasted indeed but a fortnight, yet even this was an important event ; and in St. Omer they maintained their position only through the especial protection of the senate.

The civic magistrates, the provincial nobility, the clergy, all were suddenly menaced with danger and oppression, with a revolution of a no less destructive nature than that which had already taken place in Ghent ; no wonder therefore that in this extremity of peril they sought every means of defence. With this view they first brought into the field their troops, which laid waste the country round Ghent with the most savage atrocity, and then looked around for an alliance offering greater promise of

\* Van der Vynkt's Hist. of the Netherlands, vol. ii., book vi., sec. 2 ; this section is probably the most important of the whole book.

security than was afforded by their connexion with the united Netherland provinces.

Don John of Austria did not fail to take advantage of this state of public feeling. On a cursory and general survey of Don John's measures and conduct in the Netherlands, it would appear that they produced no results whatever ; that his whole existence had passed away, leaving as little trace on the world as it had afforded satisfaction to himself. But if we consider more accurately what was his position, what were his actions, and what their consequences, we shall be forced to admit that the settlement of the Spanish Netherlands is to be ascribed pre-eminently to him. For some time he tried to adhere to the terms of the treaty of Ghent ; but the independent attitude which the States had taken up, the situation of the prince of Orange, who was far more powerful than himself, the viceroy, and the mutual suspicion of the parties, necessarily tended to an open rupture. Don John made up his mind to begin the war ; unquestionably this was contrary to the wishes of his brother, but it was inevitable ; by this means alone could he possibly succeed in reconquering one province to the crown of Spain, and in this he did succeed. He kept possession of Luxemburg, he invested Namur, and in consequence of the battle of Gemblours, became master of Louvaine and Limburg. If the king wished to regain his power over the Netherlands, this was not to be effected by an accommodation with the States General, which was evidently impracticable, but

only by a gradual subjugation of the particular districts, either by treaty or force of arms. This system Don John pursued, and speedily opened to himself the most extensive prospects. He rekindled the old attachment of the Walloon provinces to the Burgundian race, and especially brought over to his party two men of great importance, Pardieu de la Motte, governor of Gravelines, and Matthieu Moulart, bishop of Arras\*.

These were the two men who, after the early death of Don John, conducted the negotiations on which every thing depended, with the greatest zeal and the most successful skill.

De la Motte availed himself of the newly-kindled hatred against the protestants. He managed that the garrisons belonging to the States should be removed from many strong places solely on account of their protestantism, and that early in November the nobles of Artois should decree the expulsion of all lutherans from that province ; a decree which they carried into execution. Matthieu Moulart now endeavoured to bring about a complete reconciliation with the king. He began by invoking the assistance of God by a solemn procession through the city ; an act of devotion prompted by his sense of the enormous difficulties he had to contend with, as

\* That they were won over to Don John is evident from both the following passages. 1. Strada, ii. 1, p. 19 : “ *Pardæus Mottæ dominus non rediturum modo se ad regis obedientiam sed etiam quamplures secum tracturum jam pridem significarat Joanni Austriaco.*” 2. Tassis : “ *Episcopum Atrebatensem, qui vivente adhuc Austriaco se regi conciliarat.*”

he had sometimes to induce men to coalesce whose claims were directly at variance. He proved himself indefatigable, subtle, and conciliating, and perfectly succeeded in his object.

Alessandro Farnese, the successor to Don John, had the mighty talent of persuading, attaching, and of inspiring lasting confidence ; at his side stood François Richardot, the nephew of the bishop, “ a man,” says Cabrera, “ of sound and perspicacious judgement in various matters, and experienced in all ; competent to conduct all business, of whatsoever sort it might be ;” and Sarrazin, abbot of St. Vaast, described by the same Cabrera, “ as a great politician under the appearance of quietness, ambitious with the demeanor of humility, and one who knew how to sustain his dignity in the eyes of all\*.”

It will be impossible for us to trace the whole progress of the negotiations until they gradually attained their object.

It is sufficient to remark that, on the side of the provinces, the interests of self-preservation and of their religion pointed immediately to the king ; on the side of the king, nothing was left untried which priestly influence and dexterous negotiation, united with the returning favour of the prince, could effect. In April 1579, Emanuel de Montigny, whom the Walloon army had recognised as their general, entered into the pay of the king. Upon this, count De Lalaing went over, without whom Hainault

\* Cabrera, Felipe Segundo, p. 1021.

could never have been won. At length, on the 17th of May 1579, the treaty was signed in the camp at Maestricht. But to what conditions was the king subjected ! It was indeed a restoration of his sovereignty, but under the strictest limitations. Not only did he promise to dismiss all foreigners from his army and only to employ Netherland troops, but confirmed all present possessors in the offices which they had acquired during the disturbances. The inhabitants pledged themselves, on their part, to receive no garrison of which information had not been previously given to the estates of the country ; two-thirds of the council of state were to consist of men who had been implicated in the disturbances. The other articles were framed in the same spirit\*. The provinces thus attained an independence such as they had never before enjoyed.

This event involved a turn of affairs of universal importance. Throughout the west of Europe no other means had hitherto been resorted to for the maintenance and restoration of catholicism than the application of open force ; and the monarchical power, under this pretence, had endeavoured completely to annihilate all provincial rights and franchises. It was now compelled to adopt another course. If kings wished to restore catholicism, and maintain themselves, they could do so only by a strict union with representative bodies and popular privileges.

But to whatever extent the royal power of Spain

\* Tassis gives this treaty in all its details, lib. v. 394—405.



was limited, it had yet made an immense acquisition. It had recovered the provinces upon which the greatness of the house of Burgundy had been founded. Alessandro Farnese kept the field with the Walloon troops, and although the progress of the war was slow, he continued to advance ; he took Courtray in 1580, Tournay in 1581, and Oudenarde in 1582.

But affairs were not decided by these successes. It was precisely the union of the catholic provinces with the king, that forced the northern districts (which were exclusively protestant) not only to draw closer their mutual alliance, but eventually to emancipate themselves entirely from the king.

Let us here take a rapid review of the history of the Netherlands. In all the provinces a contest had subsisted for ages between the provincial privileges and the royal prerogative. In Alva's time the latter had attained an ascendancy it never had before possessed, and which it could not even then maintain. The treaty of Ghent showed how completely the popular bodies had gained the upper hand over the government. In this respect the northern provinces could claim no pre-eminence over those of the south ; and had they been united in the matter of religion, they would have constituted one common Netherland republic ; but, as we have seen, they fell asunder. It followed, first, that the catholics placed themselves once more under the protection of the king, with whom their strongest bond of union was the determination to maintain the catholic religion ; hence it likewise

followed that the protestants, after having so long persevered in the struggle, at length threw aside the very name of subjection, and completely shook off the authority of the king. We may indeed call the one party the subject provinces, and describe the other as a republic ; but we must not suffer ourselves to be misled by these names into a belief that the difference in their internal organization was at first great. The subject provinces asserted all their popular rights and privileges with the greatest spirit ; while the republican provinces possessed, in the office of viceroy, an institution analogous to that of royalty. Their chief difference lay in their religion.

This brought out the true points of the contest, and events now advanced to their consummation.

Just at this time Philip II. had conquered Portugal, and in the moment of triumph, stimulated as he was to new enterprises by this signal success, the Walloon states at length consented to the return of the Spanish troops.

Lalaing and his wife, who had always been a great opponent of the Spaniards and to whom their expulsion was ascribed, were won over, and the whole body of the Walloon nobility followed their example ; men were persuaded that all danger of a renewal of Alva's acts of tyranny and violence was at an end. The Spanish-Italian army, which had once been removed, again brought back, and again dismissed, returned once more. With the Netherland troops alone, the war would have been in-

terminable ; the superiority of these veteran, well-disciplined troops brought matters to a crisis.

While in Germany the colonies of jesuits, consisting of Spaniards, Italians and a few Netherlanders had restored catholicism by their teaching and by the inculcation of the principles of their creed, in the Netherlands an Italico-Spanish army came to unite its forces to the catholic element of the native population, the Walloons, for the re-establishment of catholic supremacy by the sword.

In treating of this period of history, it is impossible to avoid speaking of war ; it involves the destinies of religion.

In the month of July 1583, both the harbour and the town of Dunkirk were taken in six days ; shortly afterwards Nieuport, and all the coast as far as Ostende, Dixmunde and Furnes.

Even here the character of this war manifested itself. In all political matters the Spaniards were forbearing ; but inexorable wherever the interests of the church were concerned. There was not the slightest question of tolerating the public or even the private worship of the protestants. All the preachers who were seized were hanged. They waged, with full consciousness, a war of religion. This was, in a certain sense, the most prudent course they could take in their situation ; they could never have reduced the protestants to complete subjection ; while by this decided policy they secured all the elements of catholicism existing throughout the country on their side, and excited them to spontaneous activity. The Bailliu Servaes

of Zealand delivered the county of Waes into their hands ; Hulst and Axel surrendered, and Alessandro Farnese soon found himself in sufficient force to make an attack upon the larger cities ; he was already in possession of the country and the coast. One after the other, Ypres, Bruges, and lastly Ghent, where Imbize himself had been a party to the treaty, were compelled to surrender ; very tolerable terms were conceded to the communes in their political character ; for the most part their privileges were respected, but the protestants were banished without mercy ; the principal stipulations invariably were, the return of the catholic clergy, and the restoration of the churches to the catholic ritual.

In spite of all these successes, nothing lasting seemed to be accomplished, no security attained, so long as the prince of Orange lived to give consistency and effect to the struggle, and to sustain hope even in the conquered.

The Spaniards had set a price of 25,000 scudi upon his head. In the fierce and excited state of men's minds, there could not fail to be some who would strive to earn this reward, urged to it equally by lust of gain and by fanaticism. I know of no greater blasphemy than that contained in the papers of the Biscayan Jaureguy, who was seized in an attempt upon the life of the prince. He wore, as a sort of amulet, prayers in which the merciful Godhead, which had manifested itself to man in the person of Christ, was invoked to favour murder ; in which a share of the price of blood was promised

(should the deed be achieved) to the divine persons; to the Mother of God of Bayonne, a robe, a lamp, and a crown; to the Mother of God of Aranzosu, a crown; to the Lord Jesus himself a rich curtain!\* Luckily this fanatic was seized; but in the meantime another was on his way. At the moment that the sentence of outlawry against Jaureguy was proclaimed in Maestricht, a Burgundian, one Balthasar Gerard, who was living there, was possessed by the desire of carrying the attempted murder into execution†. The hope of acquiring earthly fortune and respect if he succeeded, and the glory of a martyr if he fell,—ideas which were encouraged by a jesuit of Trèves—had tormented him day and night, until he set out to perpetrate the deed. He presented himself to the prince as an exile, and having thus found ad-

\* “Contemporary copy of a vow and of certain prayers found in the form of an amulet upon Jaureguy,” in Lord F. Egerton’s Collection. “A vos, Senor Jesus Christo, redemptor y salvador del mundo, criador del cielo y de la tierra, os offrezco, siendo osservido librarne con vida despues de haver effectuado mi deseo, un belo muy rico.” And so it goes on.

† *Relatione del successo della morte di Guilielmo di Nassau, principe di Orange e delli tormenti patiti del generosissimo giovane Baldassarre Gerardi Borgognone*: Inff. politt. xii. contains some circumstances differing from the customary accounts: “Gerardi, la cui madre è di Bisansone, d’anni 28 incirca, giovane non meno dotto che eloquente;”—he had entertained this project for seven years and a half;—“Offerendosi dunque l’opportunità di portar le lettere del duca d’Alansone al Nassau, essendo già lui gentilhuomo di casa, alli 7 Luglio un hora e mezzo dopo pranso uscendo il principe della tavola scargandoli un archibugetto con tre palle gli colse sotto la zinna manca e gli fece una ferita di due diti colla quale l’ammazzò.”

mittance, he watched a favourable moment, and killed the prince of Orange at one shot, (July 1584). He was seized, but no torture wrung from him a sigh; he persisted in saying that were the deed still to do, he would do it again. Whilst he expired at Delft amidst the curses of the people, the canons of Herzogenbusch celebrated his achievement with a solemn Te Deum.

The passions of both parties were in a state of the fiercest excitement, but the impulse given to the catholics was the strongest; it accomplished its end, and bore off the victory.

Had the prince lived, it was believed that he would have found means to relieve Antwerp, which was besieged, as he had promised; but now there was no one to fill his place.

The means of attack brought against Antwerp were so vast that the other considerable cities of Brabant were also immediately menaced by them: the prince of Parma cut off from all equally the supply of provisions. Brussels was the first to yield. No sooner was this city, accustomed to abundance and luxury, threatened with want, than discord broke out and soon led to a surrender; then Mechlin fell; and at length, when the last attempt to cut through the dykes and to procure means of subsistence by land failed, Antwerp itself was forced to surrender.

The same indulgent terms were granted to the cities of Brabant as to those of Flanders: Brussels was excused from the payment of contributions: the inhabitants of Antwerp were promised that no

Spanish garrison should be quartered in their city, and that the citadel should not be repaired. One obligation was accepted in the place of all others—that the churches and chapels should be restored and the exiled priests and clergy recalled ; on this point the king was inflexible. In every treaty this, he said, must be the first and last stipulation. The only concession he could be induced to grant was, that two years were allowed to the inhabitants of every place either to change their religion or sell their possessions and quit the Spanish territory.

How completely was the aspect of things altered ! At one time Philip II. had doubted whether he should grant the jesuits fixed settlements in the Netherlands ; and even since then, they had often been threatened, attacked and driven out. In consequence of the events of this war they now returned with every manifestation of the favour of the government. The Farnesi were moreover peculiar patrons of the society ; Alessandro chose a jesuit as his confessor ; he saw in their order the most efficacious means of bringing back to catholicism the half-protestant country he had conquered, and of fulfilling the main object of the war\*. The first

\* Sacchinus : “ Alexandro et privati ejus consilii viris ea stabat sententia, ut quæque recipiebatur ex hæreticis civitas, continuo fere in eam immitti societatem debere : valere id tum ad pietatem privatam civium tum ad pacem tranquillitatemque intelligebant.” (Pars v. lib. iv. n. 58.) According to the *Imago primi seculi*, this was also the will of the king, “ qui recens datis de hoc argumento literis ducem cum cura monuerat, ut societatis præsidio munire satageret præcipuas quasque Belgii civitates ; ”—statements which are sufficiently warranted by the facts.

place to which they returned was that which had first been conquered, Courtray. The parish priest of the town, Jean David, had become acquainted with the jesuits during his exile at Douay ; on his return to Courtray, he immediately entered their order, and in his farewell discourse to his parishioners exhorted them not to allow themselves to be any longer deprived of the spiritual aid of that society ; his exhortations were readily obeyed. Shortly after, the veteran Giovanni Montagna, who had first introduced the company into Tournay, whence he had frequently been obliged to fly, came back to that town and established it there for ever. As soon as Bruges and Ypres had conformed to the required change, the jesuits made their entry there also, and certain convents which had been deserted during the troubles were readily granted to them by the king. In Ghent, the house of the great demagogue Imbize, the author of so much mischief to catholicism, was fitted up for the reception of the company. At the surrender of Antwerp, the inhabitants endeavoured to stipulate that only those orders should be re-admitted into the city which had existed there in the time of Charles V. ; but this was not conceded to them ; they were compelled to receive the jesuits again, and to restore the buildings which that society had formerly possessed. All these facts are related by the historian of the order with great complacency ; he remarks as a proof of the peculiar favour of Heaven, that they recovered free from debt, that which they had left burthened with debt. Property which had, in the meanwhile,



passed through two or three different hands, was now restored to them without demur or inquiry. Brussels could not escape the general fate; the town-council declared itself ready to receive them; the prince of Parma granted aid from the royal treasury, and in a short time the jesuits were established on a secure and advantageous footing. The prince had already solemnly granted them a right to hold land and houses under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to make use of the privileges conferred on them by the apostolic see in these provinces.

The jesuits were not the only religious order which enjoyed his protection. In the year 1585 a few capuchins arrived in his dominions, and, by a special letter to the pope, he obtained leave for them to remain there; he accordingly bought them a house in Antwerp. They produced a great impression even on the religious fraternities, and it was necessary for the pope to restrain the other franciscan orders by express command, from adopting the reformed rule of the capuchins.

All these circumstances gradually produced an immense effect, and transformed Belgium, which had been half protestant, into one of the most catholic countries of the world. Nor can it be denied that, for a time at least, they mainly contributed to the re-establishment of the royal authority.

In consequence of these results the opinion became more and more firmly established, that only one religion ought to be tolerated in a state. This is one of the fundamental maxims of the policy of Justus Lipsius. "In matters of religion," says he,

“neither favour nor indulgence is admissible ; the true mercy is to be merciless ; in order to save many, a few must be gotten rid of without scruple ;”—a maxim which in no country found more acceptance than in Germany.

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**§ 9. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION  
IN GERMANY.**

As the Netherlands still formed one of the circles of the German empire, the events which occurred in that country inevitably exercised a great influence on the affairs of Germany. One of the more immediate results of them was, that the affairs of Cologne were brought to an issue.

The Spaniards had not yet returned, far less had catholicism gained her great triumphs, when Truchsess, the elector of Cologne, determined, in November 1582, to embrace the reformed religion and to marry, though without resigning his archbishoprick. The greater part of the nobility was on his side ; the counts of Nuenar, Solms, Wittgenstein, Wied, Nassau, and the whole duchy of Westphalia, were all of them lutherans. With the bible in one hand and the sword in the other, the elector entered Bonn ; while Casimir of the Palatinate appeared in the field with a considerable body of troops to reduce to obedience the city of Cologne, the chapter, and the other ecclesiastical officers of the archbishoprick which offered resistance to Truchsess.

We find this Casimir of the Palatinate engaged in all the transactions of those times, always ready to mount his horse or to draw his sword, and always having at his beck warlike bands inclined to protestantism ; notwithstanding which he seldom effected anything important for the cause he espoused. He neither waged war with that devotedness which a religious contest demands (having always his own private interests in view), nor with that energy and science which were brought to bear against him. On this occasion he laid waste the flat country of his opponents ; but in the main he achieved little or nothing\*. He made no conquests, nor did he find means to obtain more ample assistance from protestant Germany.

On the other hand, the catholic powers united all their strength. Pope Gregory did not abandon the matter to the delays attending all the proceedings of the curia ; he deemed a simple consistory of the cardinals sufficient, considering the urgency of the case, to decide so important a matter as the stripping an elector of the empire of his ecclesiastical dignity†. The papal nuncio Malaspina had already hastened to Cologne ; and had succeeded, in concert with the learned members of the chapter, not only in excluding all the moderate party from that body, but also in placing upon the archiepiscopal throne a prince of the only remaining catholic house of untainted orthodoxy,—duke Ernest of

\* Isselt, *Historia Belli Coloniensis*, p. 1092 : “Tota hac æstate nihil hoc exercitu dignum egit.”

† Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, ii. xii. 8.

Bavaria, bishop of Freisingen\*. A German catholic army now appeared in the field, brought together by the duke of Bavaria, with the aid of the pope's subsidies. The emperor delayed not to threaten the count palatine Casimir, with the ban and double-ban of the empire, and sent admonitory letters to his troops which eventually occasioned the dispersion of the army of the Palatinate.

It was at this point of time that the Spaniards likewise made their appearance. In the summer of 1583 they had conquered Zutphen; and three thousand five hundred Belgian veterans now marched into the electorate. Gebhard Truchsess was forced to yield to such numerous enemies; his troops would not serve against an imperial mandate; his principal fortress surrendered to the Bavaro-Spanish army, while he himself was compelled to seek refuge with the prince of Orange, and to ask asylum from him at whose side he had hoped to stand foremost among the champions of the protestant cause.

It is easy to perceive how powerfully this event must have contributed to the complete re-establishment of catholicism in that country. At the very first outbreak of the troubles, the clergy of the diocese had allowed the dissensions which existed amongst themselves to subside. The nuncio removed all suspected members, and a jesuits' college was founded in the midst of the clash of arms; so that after victory was won, there was only to

\* Letter of Malaspina to duke William of Bavaria in Adlzreitter, ii. xii. 295: "Quod cupiebamus," he says, "impetramus."

persevere in the course already adopted. Truchsess had driven out the catholic clergy in Westphalia ; they now returned, like the other refugees, and were held in great honour \*. The lutheran canons were expelled from the diocese, and, contrary to all precedent, ceased to receive any portion of their incomes. The papal nuncios were, it is true, obliged to use great discretion in their deportment even towards the catholics ; and of this pope Sixtus was so well aware, that he commanded his nuncio not to set about the reforms which he thought necessary, until he knew that all parties were willing to receive them. It was, however, this very prudence and moderation which enabled them imperceptibly to gain their end. The canons, how high soever their birth, once more began to perform their clerical duties in the cathedral. The council of Cologne, which was opposed by a protestant party in the city, strenuously supported the catholic faith.

This great change could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on all the other ecclesiastical states ; but a particular accident which occurred in the neighbourhood of Cologne materially contributed to its operation. Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, bishop of Paderborn and Osnabrück, archbishop of Bremen (who would, if he could, have followed the example of Gebhard) went one Sunday in April 1585, from his residence at Vöhrde to church, when in riding back, his horse fell with him, and although

• “ Elector Ernest,” says Khevenhiller, “ has constituted anew, according to ancient customs, both the catholic religion and the temporal government.”

he was young and healthy, and did not appear to have received any serious injury, he died in the course of that month. The elections which followed were very favourable to catholicism; the new bishop of Osnabrück, whatever might have been his previous opinions, now subscribed the “*professio fidei*\*,” and Theodore of Fürstenberg, the new bishop of Paderborn, was a most zealous catholic. While yet a canon, he had opposed his predecessor, and, in the year 1580, carried the statute, that in future catholics only should be received into the chapter†; he had already admitted a few jesuits, had allowed them to preach in the cathedral, and to teach in the higher classes of the gymnasium; in the latter case, under the condition that they were not to wear the dress of their order. It was, of course, much easier for him as bishop, to afford encouragement and assistance to the party they represented; they were no longer compelled to conceal their presence; the gymnasium was delivered into their hands without any stipulation, and they were allowed not only to preach, but to catechise.

\* According to Strunck, *Annales Paderbornenses*, p. 514, Bernard von Waldeck was at an earlier period inclined to protestantism; during the troubles at Cologne he remained neuter and now acknowledged to the catholic faith. Chytræus (*Saxonia*, 812) does not contradict him.

† Bessen, *Geschichte von Paderborn*, ii. 123. In Reiffenberg, *Historia Provinciæ ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, lib viii. c. i. p. 185, we find a letter from pope Gregory XIII: “*dilectis filiis canonicis et capitulo ecclesiæ Paderbornensis*,” 6 Feb. 1584, in which he praises this spirit of opposition: “It is right it should be thus: the more you are attacked, the stronger must be your resistance: the pope himself bears in his heart the fathers of the society of Jesus.”

They found ample occupation. The town-council was thoroughly protestant, and there was scarcely a catholic to be found among the citizens ; nor was the case very different among the peasantry. The jesuits compared Paderborn to a sterile field, which required extraordinary labour and yet produced no fruit. Nevertheless, as we shall hereafter perceive, in the beginning of the seventeenth century they had completely subdued this stubborn soil to their culture.

The death of Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg was an important event to Münster also. As the younger members of the chapter supported, and the elder opposed him, it had hitherto been impossible to carry any election ; now, however, duke Ernest of Bavaria, elector of Cologne and bishop of Liége, was elected bishop of Münster ; principally through the exertions of the most determined catholic of the chapter, the dean Raesfeld, who, just before his death, made a will bequeathing 12,000 reichs-thalers for the establishment of a jesuit's college in Münster. In the year 1587 the first jesuits arrived. They found enemies in the canons, the protestant ministers, and the citizens ; but were supported by the council and the prince. Their schools soon began to evince their extraordinary merits, and in the third year they could reckon a thousand scholars. Even so early as the year 1590, they were rendered completely independent by a voluntary grant of church property made to them by the prince\*.

\* Sacchinus, pars. v. lib. viii. n. 83—91. Reiffenberg, *Historia Provinciæ ad Rhenum Inferiorem*, i. ix. vi.

Elector Ernest also possessed the bishoprick of Hildesheim, and although his power there was much more limited than in Münster, he contributed greatly to the introduction of the jesuits. The first jesuit who came to Hildesheim was John Hammer, a native of that city, educated in the lutheran faith by his father, who was still living, but filled with all the zeal of a proselyte. His preaching was remarkably perspicuous and intelligible, and he made some brilliant conversions : by degrees he gained firm footing, and in the year 1590 the jesuits acquired a dwelling and a pension in Hildesheim.

We perceive how important the catholicism of the house of Bavaria was, even as affecting Northern Germany, where a Bavarian prince appears in so many dioceses at once as the main prop of the catholic party.

Yet we must not imagine that this prince was very zealous or very devout in his own person. He had natural children, and it had been thought at one time that he would act in the same manner as Gebhard Truchsess had done. It is extremely interesting and curious to observe with what caution and delicacy pope Sixtus treated him. He most carefully avoided showing him that he was aware of his irregularities, perfectly as he was acquainted with them ; for then exhortations and remonstrances would have been necessary, which might very probably have driven the headstrong prince to some determination little agreeable to the court of Rome\*.

The affairs of Germany were not to be managed

\* Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V., tom. i. p. 354.



in the same manner as those of the Netherlands had been ; they demanded the most skilful and delicate regard to personal interests and personal feelings.

Although duke William of Cleves outwardly conformed to the catholic confession, his policy was on the whole protestant ; he willingly afforded refuge and protection to protestant exiles, and did not permit his son John William, who was a zealous catholic, to take any share in public affairs. There were not wanting those in Rome who might easily have been tempted to show their disapprobation and resentment at his proceedings, and to encourage any opposition raised by his son ; but Sixtus V. was far too prudent to sanction such a course. It was not until the prince pressed for an interview so earnestly that it was impossible to decline it any longer without offence, that the nuncio held a conference with him at Düsseldorf, and even then he exhorted him in the strongest manner to patience. The pope would not allow him to be invested with the order of the Golden Fleece, lest it should awaken suspicion. Nor did he intercede directly with the father in favour of his son, since he thought that any connexion of the latter with Rome would displease the duke ; but endeavoured to procure for the prince a position befitting his birth, by means of an application which he induced the emperor to make in his behalf. He admonished the nuncio to act concerning some things as if he did not perceive them. This considerate forbearance on the part of an authority which was still recognised, did not fail to produce its usual effect. The nuncio gradually

acquired influence, and when the protestants at the diet asked for certain concessions, it was chiefly through his representations that they were refused\*.

In a great portion of Northern Germany, catholicism was thus, if not instantly re-established, yet in the hour of imminent peril was upheld, confirmed, and fortified; it obtained a degree of superiority which time might mature into complete ascendancy.

In a great part of Southern Germany, events immediately took a similar course.

We touched upon the state of the Franconian bishopricks. It might easily have entered into the imagination of a resolute bishop to avail himself of it for the establishment of an hereditary power.

It was probably this state of things that induced Julius Echter of Mespelbronn, who, in the year 1573, while still in the flower of youth, and of an enterprising disposition, had been created bishop of Würzburg, to hesitate some time what line of policy to adopt. He took an active part in the expulsion of the abbot of Fulda; yet it could not have been any very decided leaning to catholicism which brought the chapter and the states of Fulda into connexion with him, since the re-establishment of catholicism was the principal grievance they had to allege against their abbot. It was on this account too that the bishop fell into a misunderstanding with Rome; Gregory XIII. having enjoined him to restore Fulda, just at the moment when Truchsess proclaimed his revolt. In this emergency, bishop

\* Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V., tom. i. p. 359.

Julius actually prepared to address himself to Saxony, and to call in the aid of the leader of the lutherans against the pope. He was intimately connected with Truchsess, who at all events entertained hopes that the bishop of Würzburg would follow his example,—as the minister of Lauenburg, archbishop of Bremen, announces with great satisfaction to his master\*.

Under these circumstances, it would be difficult to decide what bishop Julius would have done, had Truchsess been able to keep his ground at Cologne ; as however he so completely failed, Julius not only abandoned all thought of following his example, but determined to pursue a totally different line of conduct.

Are we to presume that his only object had been the acquisition of absolute power in his own dominions ? or did he really entertain in his heart strict catholic convictions ? At all events, he was a pupil of the jesuits, and educated at the Collegium Romanum. Whatever was the cause, in the year 1584 he undertook a visitation of the churches in a highly catholic spirit, and hitherto unparalleled in

\* Letter of Hermann von der Decken (for Becken must be a false reading), dated 6 Dec. 1582, in Schmidt-Phiseldeck, *Historischen Miscellaneen*, i. 25. " Upon the statements and solicitations of the legate, the bishop of Würzburg begged time for a little consideration, immediately ordered his horses and suite to be in readiness, and determined to mount and ride over to the elector of Saxony and complain to his grace of such unheard-of importunity on the part of the pope, and apply for council, aid, and consolation. . . . His grace (the elector of Cologne) had great hopes of the reverend lords bishops, that their princely graces would declare against the pope."

Germany; and he carried this through in person with all the energy of a most resolute will.

He travelled through his whole territory accompanied by certain jesuits, going first to Gmünden, then to Arnstein, Werneck, and Hassfurt, and so on from circle to circle. In every town he summoned to his presence the burghermaster and the town council, and told them of his determination to root out the errors of protestantism. The pastors were sent away and their places filled with the pupils of the jesuits. Any official person who refused to attend catholic worship was dismissed without mercy, and the vacant office instantly filled by one of the catholic faith. Even private persons were all required to attend the catholic service, and had only to choose between the mass or exile; he to whom the religion of his prince was an abomination ought, it was said, to have no share or interest in his country\*. In vain did the neighbouring princes remonstrate against these measures. Bishop Julius used to say, that it was not what he did that caused him any scruples of conscience, but that he had begun to do it so late. He received the most active and zealous support from the jesuits, among whom Father Gerhard Weller was especially conspicuous, by going alone and on foot, without

\* Biography of bishop Julius in Gropp's Chronicle of Würzburg, p. 335: "they were told to give up their offices and employments and to seek their livelihood out of the diocese." I have already made use of this biography, and in particular, along with it, Christophori Mariani Augustani *Encœnia et Tricennalia Juliana* in Gropp's Scriptt. Wirceb. tom. i.

even a change of raiment, from place to place preaching. In the single year of 1586, fourteen cities and market-towns and above two hundred villages, containing in all 62,000 souls, were brought back to the catholic faith. The capital of the diocese was the only town which still adhered to protestantism, and in March, 1587, the bishop undertook its conversion. He summoned the town-council before him, and appointed for each quarter and parish a commission, which was to examine each citizen separately. Here too it was discovered that one half cherished protestant opinions ; the faith of many however was feeble and wavering, and soon yielded to persuasion or menace ; and the solemn communion which the bishop himself celebrated in the cathedral at Easter was numerously attended. Others held out longer, and a few chose rather to sell their property and go into exile ; among the latter were four members of the council.

This was an example which the bishop of Bamberg, the nearest ecclesiastical neighbour of Würzburg, felt himself especially called upon to follow. There is a hill called Gösweinstein, rising above the valley of Muggendorf, to the summit of which pilgrims may, to this day, be seen wending their way from all the surrounding valleys, by steep and solitary paths, through magnificent woods and romantic precipices. Here was an ancient sanctuary, sacred to the Holy Trinity ; but at the time we are speaking of, it was neglected and deserted. When Ernest von Mengersdorf, bishop of Bamberg, happened in the year 1587 to visit this spot, he was

greatly shocked at its condition. Inflamed by the example of his neighbour, he declared that he also would “bring back his subjects to the true catholic faith ; no dangers should prevent him from performing this his duty.” We shall see how earnestly his successor followed the course he marked out.

But whilst in Bamberg things were only in preparation, in Würzburg bishop Julius effected a complete change in the religious character of his dominions. All old ordinances and ceremonies were revived ; devotional exercises in honour of the Mother of God, pilgrimages, brotherhoods of the assumption of the Virgin and of her birth, and various others were restored, and new ones founded. Processions filled the streets. Throughout the whole country, the sound of the church bells recalled the hour of the Ave Maria\*. Relics were again collected and deposited with great pomp in their appointed shrines. The convents were filled again, and churches built in all directions ; bishop Julius is said to have laid the foundations of three hundred ; the traveller may still distinguish them by their lofty spires. Men observed with astonishment the change which a few years had wrought. A panegyrist of the bishop thus expresses himself : “What was formerly esteemed superstitious and even contemptible, is now held sacred ; what was lately re-

\* *Julii episcopi statuta ruralia*, Gropp, *Scriptt.*, tom. i. His meaning is, that the religious movement which proceeds from the supreme head of the church of Christ, communicates itself downwards to every member of the body. Vide p. 444, de *capitulis ruralibus*.

vered as a gospel, is now declared to be only deceit."

Even at Rome such signal success had not been anticipated. The enterprise of bishop Julius had already been some time in progress before pope Sixtus heard anything of it. After the autumn holidays in 1586, Aquaviva, the general of the jesuits, appeared before him and informed him of the new conquests achieved by his order; Sixtus was delighted, and hastened to testify his approbation and gratitude to the bishop. He granted him the right of filling the benefices which had fallen vacant in the reserved months, adding, that he would best know whom to reward.

But the pleasure which the pope received from Aquaviva's report was enhanced by the arrival of similar intelligence from the Austrian provinces, particularly from Styria.

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In the year in which the protestant estates of Styria acquired such a degree of independence, through the decrees of the diet of Brück, that they might almost compare their position with that of the estates of Austria, and like them possessed their own council for religious matters, their own superintendents and synods, and a nearly republican constitution,—in that very year a change began.

Scarcely had Rudolf II. received the homage of his subjects, when it was remarked how completely he differed from his father: he performed the acts

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of devotion in their utmost strictness ; men saw him with astonishment attend the processions, even in the hardest winter, bare-headed and carrying a torch in his hand.

This temper of the prince, and the favour which he showed to the jesuits, soon caused great anxiety, and in accordance with the character of the times, excited a violent counter-movement. In the Landhaus at Vienna, which, as the protestants had not been allowed to have a regular church in the capital, was used for their worship, Joshua Opitz, a disciple of Flaccius, preached with all that vehemence which characterized his sect. He thundered out continual invectives against jesuits, priests, and “ all the abominations of popery,” which produced not only conviction in his hearers, but exasperation ; so that, as one of his contemporaries says, “ when they came out of their church, they were ready to tear the papists to pieces with their own hands\*.” The consequence was, that the emperor determined to prohibit their meetings at the Landhaus. While the arguments for and against this measure were discussed with passionate warmth, and the nobility to whom the Landhaus belonged gave vent to threatening expressions, the feast of Corpus Christi of the year 1578 arrived. The emperor was determined to celebrate this festival in the most solemn manner. After he had heard mass in St. Stephen’s

\* Dr. George Eder, who was indeed an adversary : extract from his *Warnungsschrift in Raupach*, Evangel. Oestreich, ii. 286.



church, the procession, the first which had been seen for a long time, began. The host was accompanied through the streets by priests, brethren of religious orders, and guilds ; in the midst were the emperor and the princes. But it was soon evident that the town was in a state of extraordinary ferment. When the procession reached the peasants' market, it was found necessary to take away a few stalls to make room for it to pass. Nothing more was required to produce a general tumult ; the cry of " To arms ! we are betrayed ! " was heard on all sides. The choristers and priests abandoned the host ; the halberdiers and guards fled in all directions ; the emperor found himself in the midst of an infuriated multitude, and fearing an attack upon his person, laid his hand upon his sword, while the princes drew theirs and closed round their monarch to defend him from the mob \*. It will be easily imagined what an impression this incident made upon a prince of such gravity, and one so attached to Spanish dignity and stateliness. The papal nuncio seized on the occasion to represent to him the dangers with which he was menaced by such a state of things ; he averred that God himself showed him in this tumult how requisite it was for him to fulfil the promises he had previously made to the pope : in these representations he was supported by the Spanish minister. The jesuit provincial, Magius, had frequently urged the em-

\* Maffei, *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, tom. i. p. 281, 335.; without doubt written from the accounts of the nuncio.

peror to take decisive measures ; he now obtained a hearing. On the 21st of June, 1578, the emperor issued an order to Opitz and his assistants, both in church and school, to leave the city that very day, “ while the sun shone ;” and, within fourteen days, the hereditary dominions of Austria. The emperor, fearing a popular commotion, kept under arms a body of trustworthy men, ready to act in case of necessity. But how were the people to resist a prince who had the strict letter of the law on his side ? they could only accompany the exiles on their way with every demonstration of sorrow and sympathy\*.

From this day a catholic reaction commenced in Austria, which every year acquired fresh strength and activity.

The plan was, to expel protestantism in the first place from the imperial cities. The towns on the east of the Enns, which twenty years before had separated themselves from the estates of the nobles and knights, could make no resistance. The lutheran clergy were banished to various places ; catholics were appointed in their stead, and even private individuals were subjected to a strict examination. We are in possession of a formula according to which the suspected were questioned : “ Dost thou believe,” says one article, “ that all is true which is laid down for the government of life and doctrine

\* Sacchinus, pars iv. lib. vi. n. 78 : “ Pudet referre, quam exeuntes sacrilegos omnique execratione dignissimos prosecuta sit numerosa multitudo quotque benevolentiae documentis, ut vel inde mali gravitas aestimari possit.”

by the church of Rome?" "Dost thou believe," says another, "that the pope is the head of the sole apostolic church?" Not a doubt was tolerated\*. The protestants were removed from all civic offices, and no one admitted to the privileges of a citizen who was not a catholic. Every candidate for a doctor's degree at the university of Vienna was compelled first to subscribe the "professio fidei." A new ordinance for the schools prescribed catholic formularies, fasts, visits to churches, and the exclusive use of the catechism of Canisius. In Vienna all protestant books were taken away from the booksellers' shops and stalls, and were carried in great heaps to the bishop's court; all boxes arriving at the custom-houses were searched, and books or pictures which were not strictly catholic were seized†.

But all these acts of the government had not yet accomplished their end. In a short time, indeed, thirteen cities and market-towns were restored to catholicism in Lower Austria, and the catholics had regained possession of the crown lands and mortgaged property. But the nobles still made a powerful resistance, and the towns on the west of the Enns were in strict alliance with them, and were too formidable to be attacked‡.

Nevertheless, many of these measures had, as

\* Papal, Austrian, and Bavarian articles of confession of faith in Raupach, *Evangel. Oestreich*, ii. 307.

† Khevenhiller, *Ferd. Jahrb.*, i. 90. Hansitz, *Germania Sacra*, i. 632.

‡ Raupach, *Kleine Nachlese Ev. Oestr.*, iv. p. 17.

may be imagined, an influence and efficacy from which none could escape ; in Styria, for example, they produced an immediate return to old opinions.

At the very time the catholic reaction was advancing in so many places, the archduke Charles had been forced to make concessions in that province, and these his family could not forgive him. His brother-in-law, duke Albert of Bavaria, represented to him that the terms of the peace of Augsburg authorized him to compel his subjects to embrace the religion which he himself professed. He recommended to the archduke three measures :—first, to fill all the offices, particularly at court and in the privy council, exclusively with catholics ; secondly, to separate the different estates at the diet, by which means he might deal better with each singly ; and thirdly, to come to a good understanding with the pope, and to request him to send a nuncio to his court. Gregory XIII. voluntarily offered his assistance ; and knowing that it was chiefly want of money which had forced the archduke to make concessions to the protestants, he took the best means of rendering him more independent of his subjects, by sending him pecuniary aid. In the year 1580 he sent him 40,000*sc.*, at that time a very considerable sum, and deposited a still larger fund at Venice, to which the archduke was to have recourse in case his efforts for the restoration of catholicism should produce disturbances in his country.

Thus encouraged by example, exhortation, and substantial assistance, the archduke Charles from

the year 1580, took up a position totally different from that which he had previously occupied.

In this year he published an explanation of his former concessions, which may be considered as a revocation of them. The estates addressed a humble petition to him, and for a moment the urgency of their prayer appeared to have some effect\* ; but on the whole he remained firm to the measures he had announced, and the expulsion of the protestant ministers commenced in Austria likewise.

The year 1584 was pregnant with events. The papal nuncio Malaspina made his appearance in the diet of this year. He had already succeeded in detaching the prelates from the secular estates, with which they had always sided : he now established between them, the duke's ministers and all the catholics in the province, a strict union of which he himself was the centre. Hitherto the whole country had appeared to be protestant ; but the nuncio contrived to form a strong party around the prince, whose position thus became impregnable. He declared it to be his fixed determination to root out protestantism from his dominions ; the treaty of Augsburg, he said, gave him far greater powers than he had yet employed, even over the nobles, and any further opposition would but compel him to exercise them ; he should then see who would show himself a rebel.

\* " According to the natural, benignant, and paternal disposition of a German prince," (" seinem angeborenen, mildreichen landsfürstlichen deutschen Gemüth nach,") says the supplication of the three states.

Peremptory as these declarations were, they were not less successful than his former concessions ; the estates granted all his demands\*.

From this time the counter-reformation began throughout all the archducal territory. The church-livings and the seats in the town-councils were filled with catholics ; no citizen dared to attend any but the catholic church, or to send his children to any but the catholic schools.

These changes were not always carried into effect peaceably. The catholic clergy and the archduke's commissioners were occasionally insulted and driven away. The archduke himself was once in danger during a hunting party, in consequence of a report in the district that a neighbouring preacher had been seized ; the people assembled in arms, and the poor persecuted lutheran was himself obliged to step forward to protect his merciless master from the enraged peasantry†. Notwithstanding these displays of popular feeling however, the catholic movement went on. The harshest measures were applied ; they are described in few words by one of the papal historians ;—confiscation, exile, and severe punishment of all the refractory. The spiritual princes who possessed any property in those districts gave their assistance to the temporal

\* Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, contains good and detailed information on all these matters. But Maffei's account is especially important in the *Annali di Gregorio XIII.*, lib. ix. c. xx., lib. xiii. c. i. He had without doubt the report of the nuncio before him.

† Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandei II.*, p. 523.

authorities. The archbishop of Cologne, bishop of Freisingen, changed the council of his town of Lack, and sentenced the protestant citizens to imprisonment or fine ; the bishop of Brixen resolved on making a new division of the land in his lordship of Veldes. This spirit extended to all the Austrian provinces. Although the Tyrol had remained true to catholicism, the archduke Ferdinand did not neglect to enforce the strict subordination of the clergy of Inspruck, and the regular attendance of all classes at the communion. Sunday-schools were established for the people ; cardinal Andreas, the son of Ferdinand, caused catechisms to be printed and distributed among the school-children and the uneducated classes\* ; but in districts where there was any tincture of protestantism, the archduke was not satisfied with proceedings of so mild a character. In the margravate of Burgau, although but recently acquired, and in the bailiwick of Swabia, although his jurisdiction there was disputed, he proceeded in exactly the same manner as the archduke Charles in Styria.

The admiration which pope Sixtus expressed at these measures was boundless and inexhaustible. He extolled the Austrian princes as the firmest pillars of the Christian faith, and sent the most affectionate letters to the archduke Charles more especially†. The acquisition of a countship which then fell vacant, was regarded by the court of

\* Puteo in *Tempesti*, Vita di Sisto V., tom. i. 375.

† Extract from the briefs, in *Tempesti*, i. 203.

Grätz as a recompense for all the service it had rendered to Christendom.

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Though in the Netherlands the catholic faith took firm root chiefly by accommodating itself to popular privileges, this was not the case in Germany, where the several sovereigns increased their greatness and extended their power, in proportion as they favoured the restoration of the catholic church. Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau, archbishop of Salzburg, affords the most remarkable example of this intimate union of ecclesiastical and political power, and of the lengths to which it was carried.

The former archbishops, cotemporaries of the reformation and eye-witnesses of all its agitations, contented themselves with occasionally issuing an edict against innovations, threatening the infliction of a punishment, or making an attempt at a conversion; but only, as archbishop Jacob says, “by gentle, paternal, and upright means.” On the whole, they suffered matters to take their course\*.

But the young archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raittenau brought with him totally different impressions, views, and projects on his accession to the see of Salzburg. He had been educated in the German college at Rome, and had imbibed the

\* A more severe edict was issued, it is true, in the name of Jacob, but not till after he had been obliged to abandon the administration to a coadjutor.



ideas of the restoration of the catholic church in all their force and freshness. He had witnessed with admiration the brilliant commencement of the reign of Sixtus V.; and the promotion of his uncle, cardinal Altemps, in whose house he had been brought up in Rome, to the purple, served to quicken his zeal and exalt his enthusiasm. In the year 1588, at the termination of a journey which had carried him back to Rome, he began the work of conversion by requiring the citizens of his capital to subscribe the catholic faith. Many testified reluctance; to these he granted a few weeks for deliberation, after which, on the 3rd of September, 1588, he ordered them to quit the town and the diocese within one month. Only this month (and, after urgent prayers, a second month) was conceded, to enable them to dispose of their property, of which they were required to give in an inventory to the archbishop, and were then only allowed to sell it to such persons as were agreeable to him\*. But few abandoned their faith, and these were obliged to do penance publicly in the churches, with burning tapers in their hands; by far the greater number, even of the more opulent citizens, accepted the alternative of banishment. The loss of them caused the prince no anxiety, for he thought he had discovered means by which to sustain the lustre of his see. He had already arbitrarily raised the taxes, increased the duties of

\* Edict concerning the reformation in Göckingk, "Vollkommene Emigrationsgeschichte von denen aus dem Erzbisthum Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern," i. p. 88.

the excise and customs, advanced the duty on salt from the mines of Hallein and Schellenberg, converted the aids given for the support of the Turkish war into a regular land-tax, and introduced duties on wines, and a property-tax and legacy-duty. He showed not the smallest respect for ancient and established rights and franchises. The dean of the diocese killed himself, it was said, in a paroxysm of grief at the destruction of the rights of the chapter. The aim of all the orders given by the archbishop concerning the preparation of salt and the whole business of mining, was to break down the independence of the works, and to subject them entirely to the control of his own council. We find no similar example of a regular fiscal system in this century throughout Germany. The young archbishop had brought with him across the Alps the ideas current in an Italian principality, where the art of raising money was esteemed the highest talent of a statesman. He had taken Sixtus V. as his model, and aspired, like him, to have in his hands an obedient, thoroughly catholic, tributary state. He was therefore delighted at the expatriation of the citizens of Salzburg, whom he looked upon as rebels. He caused their deserted houses to be pulled down, and erected in their room palaces in the Roman style\*.

Above all things he loved pomp. He never re-

\* Zauner's Chronicle of Salzburg, Part VII., is here our most important source of information. This part of the chronicle was itself constructed upon a contemporary biography of the archbishop.

fused any foreigner who chose to enter his service, knightly pay and entertainment, and he once appeared at the diet with a retinue of four hundred men. In the year 1588 he was only twenty-nine years of age, full of courage, and covetous of honour; and visions of the highest ecclesiastical dignities already floated before his eyes.

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The same process which was going on in the spiritual and temporal principalities was repeated in the towns, wherever circumstances rendered it possible. The lutheran burghers of Gmünden bitterly complained that they were excluded from the list of members of the city council. In Biberach, the council which had been appointed on occasion of the interim by the commissary of the emperor Charles V. still existed; the whole town was protestant, the members of the council alone were catholic, and studiously excluded every protestant\*. To what oppressive measures were the protestants in Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle subject! The council of Cologne declared that they had promised the emperor and the elector to tolerate no religion save the catholic; they punished even the listening to a protestant sermon with fine and imprisonment†. The catholics also gained the

\* Lehmann de pace religionis, ii. p. 268, 480.

† Lehmann, 436, 270.

ascendency in Augsburg ; the introduction of the new calendar gave rise to dissensions, and in the year 1586, the protestant superintendent, then eleven ministers at once, and lastly a number of the most obstinate citizens, were driven out. Similar causes were followed by scenes of the same kind in Ratisbon in the year 1587. The towns began to lay claim to the right of reforming their religious institutions ; and even individual counts and nobles and knights of the empire, who had been converted by some jesuit, asserted a similar claim, and undertook the resuscitation of catholicism within their small territories.

The reaction was boundless. The torrent of protestantism was now driven back with a force equal to that with which it had overflowed the land. Preaching and teaching did something, but far more was effected by ordinances, commands, and open force. As formerly the Italian protestants had crossed the Alps, and sought refuge in Switzerland and Germany ; so German exiles in still more numerous bodies now fled from oppression in the western and southern provinces to the north and east of Germany. In like manner the Belgians sought an asylum in Holland. Catholicism marched with victorious strides from land to land.

Its progress was in an especial manner encouraged and accelerated by the nuncios, who, from this time forth, began regularly to reside in Germany.

There is still extant a memoir of the nuncio Minuccio Minucci, dated 1588, which affords an in-

sight into the views generally entertained and acted upon in his time\*. The most especial attention was paid to education; and it was earnestly desired that the catholic universities should be better appointed for the training of distinguished teachers. Ingolstadt alone was endowed with the requisite means, and, as matters now stood, everything rested upon the jesuit seminaries. Minuccio Minucci expressed his wish that less attention had been devoted to producing great scholars and profound theologians, than to forming good and able preachers. A man of moderate acquirements, who did not aspire to reach the highest point of learning or to acquire fame, was perhaps the most efficient and most useful minister of religion. He recommended these observations to the attention of those at the head of the establishments for the German catholics in Italy. A distinction was originally made in the Collegium Germanicum, in the treatment of the youths of the middle classes and the young nobles; Minuccio Minucci censures the departure from this custom. He says that the effect of the change was not only to disgust the nobles and to render them averse to go thither, but to excite in the middle classes an ambition which could not be satisfied in after-life, and a striving after the higher appointments in the church, which was detrimental to the faithful performance of the duties of the lower ones. Besides, an endeavour was now

\* Discorso del molto illustre e rev<sup>mo</sup> mons<sup>or</sup> Minuccio Minucci sopra il modo di restituire la cattolica religione in Alemagna, 1588. MS. Barb.

made to introduce a third or intermediate class,—the children of the higher official persons, who, according to the common course of events, would at some future time have the greatest share in the administration of their native provinces. Gregory XIII. had already made arrangements for their reception in Perugia and Bologna. We see that the distinction of ranks, which is still so strongly marked in German society, was even then visible.

In this conjuncture, as in all others, the most important part was played by the nobles, to whom the maintenance of catholicism in Germany is principally ascribed by the nuncio, and no doubt with justice ; for as they had an exclusive right to the richest benefices and highest dignities of the church, they defended it as their hereditary property, and now opposed the introduction of religious liberty in the dioceses\*, fearing the great number of protestant princes who would then claim the right of nomination to all the benefices.

It was therefore the policy of the church to protect and to conciliate these nobles. Rome did not dare to vex them with the law against plurality of benefices ; and indeed the changing from one residence to another was advantageous, inasmuch

\* Particularly in Southern Germany : “ L’ esempio della suppressione dell’ altre (the northern Germans) ha avvertiti i nobili a metter cura maggiore nella difesa di queste, concorrendo in ciò tanto gli eretici quanto li cattolici, accorti già, che nell’ occupatione delli principi si leva a loro et a’ posterì la speranza dell’ utile che cavano dai canonicati e dagli altri beneficii e che possono pretendere del vescovato mentre a’ canonici resti libera l’elettione.”

as it served to unite the nobles of the various provinces for the defence of the church. It was also necessary to avoid bestowing any ecclesiastical appointments upon men of the burgher class : a few learned men were very useful in a cathedral, as was remarked at Cologne ; but if this system were carried much further, it would cause the ruin of the German church.

The question now remained, how far it was possible to bring back to the faith the provinces which had become completely protestant.

We find from this document that the nuncio was far from recommending open violence ; the protestant princes appear to him much too powerful to be attacked ; but he suggests other means which might gradually lead to the accomplishment of the object in view.

Above all things, he considers it essential to maintain a good understanding between the catholic powers, especially between Bavaria and Austria. The treaty of Landsberg still existed ; this he thinks should be renewed and extended ; and Philip of Spain might be included among the parties to it.

Might it not also be possible to win back some of the protestant princes ?—It had long been thought that the elector Augustus of Saxony betrayed a leaning towards catholicism, and attempts upon him had occasionally been made, chiefly through the interposition of Bavaria ; not only, however, had the greatest caution always been necessary, but as the wife of the elector, Anne of Denmark, adhered strictly to the lutheran faith,

they had always been unsuccessful. Anne died in the year 1585; her death was not only a day of deliverance to the oppressed calvinists, but the removal of an obstacle between the catholics and their prince. It appeared as if Bavaria, which had hitherto always been in opposition, determined to take some steps for the propagation of catholicism; and pope Sixtus held himself prepared to send absolution to the elector\*. Meanwhile Augustus died

\* As early as 1574, Gregory XIII. encouraged duke Albert V., “*ut dum elector Saxoniae Calvinistarum sectam ex imperii sui finibus exturbare conabatur, vellet sermones cum principe illo aliquando habitos de religione catholica in Saxonia introducenda renovare.*” He was of opinion that it would be right to send an agent thither; the duke was entirely against this; the thing would then get to the privy-council of the elector, “*ad consiliarios et familiares, a quibus quid exspectandum aliud quam quod totam rem pervertat?*” He continues: “*Arte hic opus esse judicatur, quo tanquam aliud agens errantem pie circumveniat.—Uxor, quo ex sexu impotentiori concitator est, eo importuniora suffundet consilia, si resciscat hanc apud maritum rem agi.*” Legationes Paparum ad Duces Bavariae. MS. in the Library at Munich. Minucci relates that the first overtures were made as late as the times of Pius V. The whole passage is remarkable. “*Con duca Augusto di Sassonia già morto trattò sin a tempi della s. m. di Papa Pio V. il duca Alberto di Baviera, che vive in cielo, e ridusse la pratica tanto inanzi che si prometteva sicura riuscita: ma piacque a Dio benedetto di chiamarlo, nè d’opera di tanta importanza fu chi parlasse o pensasse, se non ch’ a tempi di Gregorio di gl. mem. il padre Possevino s’ingegnò di fabricare sopra quei fundamenti: et in fine nel presente felicissimo pontificato di Sisto, sendo morta la moglie d’esso duca Augusto, fu chi ricordò l’occasione esser opportuna per trattare di nuovo la conversione di quel principe: ma la providentia divina non li diede tempo di poter aspettare la benedittione che S. Beat<sup>mo</sup> pur per mezzo del S<sup>r</sup> duca Gulielmo di Baviera s’apparecchiava di mandarli sin a casa sua.*” We see how early this course was pursued.



before anything was effected. But the catholic party soon directed their attention to other princes : to Louis count palatine of Neuburg, in whom they thought they remarked a coldness to all interests hostile to catholicism, and a peculiar forbearance towards all catholic priests who accidentally approached his territories ; and to William IV. of Hesse, who was learned, pacific, and had occasionally accepted the dedication of catholic writings. Neither did they lose sight of members of the higher nobility of northern Germany, and among others they conceived some hope of Heinrich Ranzau.

But if the results of these schemes were too remote to be reckoned upon, there were other projects, the success of which depended more upon their own determination and will.

The majority of the assessors of the Kammergericht (so at least the nuncio asserts) were still inclined to protestantism. They were still men of that earlier epoch, when, in most countries, even those which adhered to catholicism, secret or professed protestants sat in the prince's councils. The nuncio considered this state of things as tending to reduce the catholics to despair, and urgently entreated that some remedy should be applied. It appeared to him an easy matter to compel all the actual assessors in catholic provinces to make a profession of faith, and all those about to be appointed, to take an oath either not to change their religion, or to give up their places. The catholics, it was asserted, had a right to the supremacy in this tribunal.

Minucci did not yet quite give up the hope of

regaining possession of the lost bishopricks without having recourse to violence, if existing rights were asserted with pertinacity. All connexion between them and Rome had not as yet been broken off, nor was the ancient right of the curia to nominate to the benefices which fell vacant in the reserved months, absolutely denied ; even the protestant bishops believed that their nominations stood in need of the pope's confirmation, and we find that Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg, whom we recently mentioned, still maintained an agent at Rome to procure this for him. The papal see had not hitherto been able to take advantage of this still lingering deference to its authority, in consequence of the practice resorted to by the emperors, of supplying the want of the papal confirmations by dispensations of their own ; and the nominations to benefices which were received from Rome either came too late, or had some error of form ; so that the chapter always had legal freedom of choice. Minucci insisted that the emperor should grant no more dispensations, and, from the opinions which then prevailed at court, he succeeded. Duke William of Bavaria had already proposed to delegate the nomination to livings either to the nuncio or to some trustworthy bishop in Germany. It was Minucci's opinion that a special dataria for Germany should be established at Rome ; where a list of the qualified catholic nobles should be kept, which could be constantly rectified by the nuncio or the jesuits, and, according to the standard thus afforded, the vacancies could be filled without

delay. No chapter would dare to reject the Roman candidates thus regularly nominated, and the consideration and influence which the curia would thus acquire would be incalculable.

We see plainly how strongly the minds of men were imbued with the notion of a complete re-establishment of the old power. To win over the nobility, to bring up the higher classes of citizens in the interest of Rome, to educate the youth in this spirit, to recover their former influence in the dioceses, (even those converted to protestantism) to regain the ascendancy in the supreme court of justice, to convert the powerful princes of the empire, and to incorporate the predominant catholic power with the Germanic confederation ;—such were the mighty and various projects which were to be simultaneously attempted. Nor must we imagine that these recommendations were neglected. Even at the very moment they were proposed to the authorities in Rome, they were already in course of execution in Germany.

The activity and good order of the Kammergericht chiefly rested upon the yearly visitations which were always undertaken by the seven estates of the empire, according to their rotation at the imperial diet. The majority had most frequently been catholic in these visitations ; but, on one occasion, in the year 1588, when the protestant archbishop of Magdeburg formed one of the number, it was protestant. This the catholic party determined not to permit ; and when the elector of Mayence was about

to summon the estates, the emperor arbitrarily commanded him to put off the visitation for that year. But the difficulty did not end with one year. The order of succession remained unalterable, and the existence of a protestant archbishop of Magdeburg was long to be feared; it was therefore proposed to defer the visitation indefinitely. The result was, that no more regular visitations were held, which caused irreparable injury to this noble institution of the highest tribunal of the empire\*. We soon meet with complaints that ignorant catholics were preferred in this court to learned protestants. The emperor also ceased to grant dispensations. In the year 1588, Minucci recommended that means should be taken for the conversion of protestant princes; and in the year 1590, we already find one convert, Jacob of Baden, who was the first of a long series.

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#### § 10. THE LEAGUE.

While this great movement agitated Germany and the Netherlands, it also extended its resistless force to France. The affairs of the Netherlands were henceforward connected most closely with

\* Minucci had written particularly upon the Kammergericht. There are reasons for supposing that his representations brought about this inhibition. The majority being composed of protestants shocked him: "non vole dir altro l'aver gli eretici l'autorità maggiore e li più voti in quel senato che un ridurre i catolici d'Alemagna a disperatione."

those of France ; the French protestants often assisted those of the Netherlands, while the Netherland catholics not less frequently came to the aid of the French ; the downfall of protestantism in the Belgian provinces was a direct loss to the huguenots of France.

But independently of this, the growing tendency which existed in other countries towards the re-establishment of catholicism, daily made corresponding progress in France.

We have already noticed the first appearance of the jesuits, and from that time they had continued to spread. The house of Lorraine showed them peculiar favour, as may easily be imagined. In the year 1574, cardinal Guise established an academy for them at Pont-a-Mousson, which was resorted to by the princes of his house ; while the duke founded a college at Eu in Normandy, which was also intended for the benefit of English exiles.

They found numerous other patrons ; cardinals, bishops, abbots, princes, or high civil functionaries undertook to defray the cost of new establishments ; in a short time they had settlements in Rouen, Verdun, Dijon, Bourges, and Nevers ; their missionaries penetrated into every part of the kingdom.

They found, however, assistants in France whose aid they had been obliged to dispense with in Germany.

The cardinal of Lorraine had brought with him from the council of Trent a few capuchin friars, whom he lodged in his palace at Meudon ; after

his death however they quitted France, for the order was still restricted by its statutes to Italy. In the year 1573, the general chapter sent a few members over the Alps to try the ground. As they were so well received that on their return they promised "the richest harvest," the pope did not hesitate to remove that restriction. In the year 1574, the first colony of capuchins, under friar Pacifico di S. Gervaso, who chose his own companions, took their way over the Alps.

They were all Italians, and naturally attached themselves in the first instance to their own countrymen. Queen Catherine of Medici received them with joy, and immediately founded a convent for them at Paris. In the year 1575 we find them at Lyons, where, at the recommendation of the queen, they were assisted by some Italian money-changers. From these towns they diverged into others: from Paris to Caen and Rouen; from Lyons to Marseilles, where queen Catherine bought them ground for building; new colonies settled in Thoulouse in the year 1582, and in Verdun in 1585. They soon made the most brilliant conversions, such as that of Henri Joyeuse in 1587, one of the first men of his time in France\*.

But in one sense at least, these religious agitations produced more powerful effects in France than in Germany. The imitations of existing institutions to which they gave rise had an original and individual character. Jean de la Barriere, who, in accordance with the peculiar abuses which had

\* Boverio, *Annali dei frati Capuccini*, i. 546.; ii. 45 f.

crept into the church of France, held in commendam the cistercian abbey of Feuillans near Toulouse, at the age of nineteen, was consecrated regular abbot in 1577, and received novices, with whom he strove not only to revive but to exceed the austerity of the original institution of Citeaux. Solitude, silence, and abstinence were carried as far as human nature would permit. These monks never left their convent except for the purpose of preaching in some neighbouring village ; within the convent walls they wore neither shoes, nor covering for the head ; they denied themselves not only meat and wine, but even fish and eggs, living upon bread and water, with, at times, a few vegetables\*. This rigour did not fail to excite reverence and imitation ; and in a short time Don Jean de la Barriere was invited to the court at Vincennes. He traversed a large portion of France with sixty-two companions, without the smallest relaxation of the devotional exercises or ascetic restraints of the convent ; very soon afterwards his institute was confirmed by the pope, and spread itself over the country.

It seemed too as if, spite of the irresponsible nature of their appointments, a new zeal was infused into the whole body of the secular clergy. The parish priests again devoted themselves most earnestly to the care of souls. In the year 1570 the bishops required not only the acceptance of the decrees of the council of Trent, but also the abrogation of that very concordat to which they were

\* Felibien, *Histoire de Paris*, vol. ii. p. 1158.

indebted for their own existence ; and they renewed and increased the rigour of these regulations from time to time\*.

Who can accurately specify all the impelling causes which communicated to the religious spirit of the age its peculiar direction ? Thus much is certain ; that as early as the year 1580, the greatest change was perceptible. A Venetian writer affirms that the number of protestants was decreased seventy per cent., and that the common people had again become completely catholic. The excitement of novelty and the energy of impulse were now once more on the side of catholicism†.

Under these circumstances, however, it assumed a new attitude in relation to the kingly power.—The condition of the court was one abounding in self-contradictions. It cannot be doubted that Henry III. was a good catholic ; none had his favour who did not attend mass, nor did he tolerate any protestant magistrates in the towns ; but in spite of this, he went on, now as heretofore, to fill up the ecclesiastical vacancies in conformity with the conveniences of court favour, without any reference

\* Remontrance de l'assemblée générale du clergé de France, convoquée en la ville de Melun, faite au roi Henri III. le 3 Juillet, 1579. Recueil des actes du clergé, vol. xiv. Thuanus has also an extract on this subject.

† Lorenzo Priuli, Relatione di Franza, 5 Giugno, 1582. Dovemo maravigliarci, umanamente parlando, che le cose non siano in peggiore stato di quello che si trovano : poichè per gratia di Dio, con tutto il poco pensiero che li è stato messo e che se li mette, è sminuito il numero degli Ugonotti 70ꝯ et è grande il zelo et il fervor che mostrano cattolici nelle cose della religione.



to worth and talent ; and to grasp and squander the revenues of the church. He loved religious ceremonies and processions, and spared himself no penance or mortification ; but this did not prevent him from leading the most scandalous life, and permitting it to be led by others. The most abandoned debauchery was the order of the day at court. The excesses of the carnival aroused the indignation of the preachers ; in some cases they refused burial to the courtiers on account of their manner of life, and the expressions of their dying moments ;—and this to the very favourites of the king. Hence it happened, that although the strict catholic impulse was openly favoured by the court, it was, in spirit, profoundly opposed to the manners which prevailed there.

But besides, the king would not abandon the old line of policy, which consisted chiefly in hostility to Spain. At any other time this would have signified nothing ; but now the religious element was, even in France, more powerful than the feeling for national interests. In the same manner as the huguenots felt themselves bound by a natural alliance to the Netherland protestants, so did the catholics to Philip II. and Farnese ; and the jesuits, who did such good service to Spain in the Netherlands, could not see without alarm, that the enemies whom they vanquished there found favour and help in France.

In addition to this, came the death of the duke of Alençon in the year 1584 ; and as the king had no heirs, nor even a hope of issue, Henry king of Navarre became presumptive heir to the throne.

Apprehension of future evil has perhaps more power over the human mind than present calamity. This prospect caused the greatest agitation amongst all the catholics in France\* ; above all in the Guises, the old opponents and enemies of Navarre, who dreaded the influence he must acquire as heir-apparent,—how much more the power he would possess whenever he ascended the throne !

No wonder therefore that they sought support from king Philip ; to that prince nothing could be more welcome than such an application ; nor had he any scruple in concluding a formal treaty with the subjects of a foreign power.

The only question now was, whether the revolt of powerful vassals against their king would be sanctioned at Rome, where so much had been said about the union of the monarchical and the ecclesiastical powers.

That it was sanctioned there cannot be denied. There were among the Guise party some whose consciences were troubled at the step which they were about to take, and in order to quiet their scruples, the jesuit Matthieu went to Rome, to bring back with him a declaration of the pope's opinion. After hearing Matthieu's representations, Gregory XIII. declared that he fully sanctioned the intentions of the French princes, of taking arms against

\* A letter was just at that time published in Rome, on the desirableness of seeing a Guise succeed to the throne ; “ della inclinazione de cattolici verso la casa di Ghisa e del servitio che riceverà la christianità et il re cattolico della successione di uno di quei principi.” It was sent to Spain, and ascribed to the cardinal d'Este. Dispaccio Veneto, 1584. 1<sup>mo</sup>. Dec<sup>bre</sup>.

the heretics ; that he removed all scruples on the subject which might be entertained ; the king himself would assuredly favour their project ; but even should this not be the case, they should nevertheless pursue their plan for the accomplishment of the all-important object, the extermination of the heretics\*. The proceedings against Henry of Navarre had already commenced ; before their termination, Sixtus V. had ascended the papal chair, and he proclaimed the excommunication of Navarre and Condé. The support which he thus gave to the plans of the League was more powerful than he could have afforded by any other sort of co-operation†.

The Guises had already taken arms, and endeavoured to get as many provinces and strong places as they could absolutely into their own power.

At the first movement they took the important towns of Verdun, Toul, Lyons, Bourges, Orleans, and Mézières, without striking a blow. The king, in order to avoid an open admission of their superiority, took a course he had already once resorted to,—namely, to declare their cause his own. But before he could be admitted to their alliance, he was compelled to sanction and extend their conquests by formal treaty, by which he surrendered to them Burgundy, Champagne, a large portion of

\* Claude Matthieu au duc de Nevers, Févr. 1585 ; perhaps the most important piece of information contained in the whole fourth volume of *Capefigue, Reforme, etc.*, p. 173.

† Maffei, *Historiarum ab excessu Gregorii XIII.*, lib. i. p. 10. “ Infimis foederatorum precibus et regis Philippi supplicatione hortatuque haud ægre se adduci est passus ut Hugonotas eorumque duces coelestibus armis insectaretur.”

Picardy, and many strong places in different parts of the kingdom\*.

They now undertook the war against the protestants conjointly,—but how differently ! The king took only half-measures which led to no results ; the catholics even thought that he wished success to the protestant arms, in order that, yielding to the apparent pressure of a resistless force, he might conclude a peace disadvantageous to catholicism. Guise, on the contrary, swore that, should God grant him the victory, he would not dismount from his horse until he had firmly established the catholic religion in France for ever. With his own troops, and not the king's, he surprised the Germans who came to the assistance of the huguenots, and upon whom all their hopes rested, and completely annihilated them at Auneau.

The pope compared him to Judas Maccabæus. There was a grandeur and nobleness in his nature which captivated the devoted reverence of the people, and he became the idol of all catholics.

The king, on the contrary, found himself in a completely false position ; he knew not what to do, nor even what to wish. The papal minister Morosini remarks, that he consisted, as it were, of two persons ; he wished for the overthrow of the huguenots, and feared it no less ; he dreaded the defeat of the catholics, and yet he desired it : such was the internal discord of his mind, that he had ceased to follow his own inclinations, or to have faith in his

\* Considerations of the cardinal Ossat on the effects of the League in France ; *Life of Cardinal Ossat*, i. 44.

own thoughts\* ;—a state of mind which of necessity destroys all confidence, and leads straight to ruin.

The catholics were persuaded that the very person who was at their head, was secretly against them ; every transient intercourse with the followers of Navarre, the smallest favour to any protestant, was noted with watchful suspicion ; they thought that it was the most christian king himself who hindered the perfect re-establishment of catholicism ; they regarded his favourites, but above all Epernon, with a hatred the more intense, because the king placed him in opposition to the Guises, and entrusted to him the most important governments.

Under these circumstances, an union of the citizens for the support of the catholic cause arose by the side of the alliance of the princes. In every town the people were stirred up by preachers, who combined a fierce opposition to the government with a fiery religious zeal. In Paris more active steps were taken. Three preachers and a respectable citizen were the first who conceived the project of establishing a popular union for the defence of catholicism†. They

\* Dispaccio Morosini in Tempesti, Vita di Sisto V. p. 346. “ Il re, tutto che sia monarca sì grande, è altrettanto povero: e quanto è povero, è altrettanto prodigo: dimostra insigne pietà, è nel stesso tempo aborrisce la sagra lega: è in campo contra gli heretici, e pure è geloso de’ progressi catolici.

† The Anonymo Capitolino on the Life of Sixtus V. contains peculiar notices of this matter. He gives the name of Carlo Ottomani to the founder, “ cittadino onorato,” who was the first to have any communication with the preachers. From their very first meeting, Ottomani made the proposal of a union with the

swore, in the first place, to devote themselves to this cause to the last drop of their blood ; each then named two or three trusty friends, the first meeting with whom was held in a monk's cell in the Sorbonne. They soon saw the possibility of embracing the whole city in their union. A smaller number were then chosen to constitute a committee, which was to lead the movement, and in case of necessity to collect money. A director was appointed for each of the sixteen quarters of the city. The enrolling of members proceeded with the utmost rapidity and secrecy ; the committee first consulted upon the fitness of the candidates, and to those who were not admitted, nothing further was revealed. They had agents in all the colleges ; one in the Chambre des Comptes, one for the Procureurs de la Cour, one for the Clerks, one for the Gref-fiers, and soforth. The whole city, which had previously received a catholic military organization, was comprehended in this secret and active league. Nor were they satisfied with Paris alone ; they included Orleans, Lyons, Thoulouse, Bordeaux and Rouen in their union, and delegates from these confederates appeared in Paris ; they all solemnly

princes ; at the second, 25th Jan. 1587, it was resolved to nominate sixteen men, one for each quarter, "*a cui si riferisse da persone fidate quanto vi si facesse e dicesse appartenente a fatti publici ;*" at a third, held on Candlemas-day, a council was named, consisting of ten persons, with the right of levying contributions, and an embassy to the duke de Guise was immediately agreed upon. This account gives some additional weight to all we find in Cayet, taken from Manaut and Maheutre, in Poulain, de Thou, and Davila.

bound themselves not to tolerate a single huguenot in France, and to remove the abuses of the government.

This is called the league of the sixteen. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently strong, they informed the Guises of its existence ; upon which, Mayenne, the brother of the duke, came with the profoundest secrecy to Paris, and the princes and the citizens signed their treaty of alliance\*.

The king already felt the ground tremble under his feet. Reports were brought him every day of the movements of his enemies. So daring were the conspirators grown, that they had already proposed the question in the Sorbonne, whether it was lawful to withdraw obedience from a prince who did not do his duty ; and an answer in the affirmative was given in a council of from thirty to forty doctors. The king was exasperated, and threatened to act as pope Sixtus had done, and to chain the rebellious priests to the galleys. But he had not the energy of that pope ; he did nothing, except to march the Swiss who were in his service into the neighbourhood of the capital.

The citizens, alarmed at the threat implied in this movement, sent to Guise begging him to come and protect them : the king caused it to be notified to him that his compliance would displease him ; nevertheless Guise came.

Every thing now seemed ripe for a general ex-

\* Nel palazzo di Rens dietro alla chiesa di S. Agostino — giurarono tutti una scambievol lega non sola defensiva ma assoluta. (Anon. Capit.)

plosion, and on the king ordering his Swiss troops to enter Paris, it broke forth. In a moment the town was barricaded, the Swiss were driven back, and the Louvre threatened ; the king was compelled to take to flight\*.

Guise had before got possession of a large portion of France ; he was now master of Paris. The Bastile, the Arsenal, the Hotel de Ville, and all the surrounding places fell into his hands. The king was completely overpowered ; in a short time he was forced to interdict the protestant religion, and give up to the Guises some additional strong places ; the duke of Guise might now be regarded as master of the half of France ; and the dignity of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, with which he was invested by Henry III., gave him lawful authority over the other half. The estates were summoned ; and as there was no doubt that the catholics would have the majority in this meeting, the most decisive measures for the destruction of the huguenots and the advantage of the catholic party might confidently be expected.

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#### § 11. SAVOY AND SWITZERLAND.

It is evident that the predominance of catholicism in so mighty a kingdom as France must

\* Maffei reproaches the duke of Guise for having borne this : “ *Inanis popularis auræ et infaustæ potentis ostentatione contentus, Henricum incolumem abire permittit.*” (1. 1. 38.)



necessarily produce corresponding effects on the neighbouring countries.

The catholic cantons of Switzerland in particular, attached themselves more and more closely to the ecclesiastical principle represented by the Spanish alliance.

It is remarkable what vast effects resulted from the establishment of a permanent nuntiatura in Switzerland as well as in Germany. Immediately after this had taken place, in the year 1586, the catholic cantons united to form the golden or Borromean league, by which they bound themselves and their posterity for ever, "to live and die in the true, undoubted, ancient, apostolical, roman catholic faith;" after which they received the sacrament from the hand of the nuncio\*.

Had the party who took possession of the powers of government at Mühlhausen in the year 1587, passed over in reality, and at the right time, to the catholic faith, as they seemed inclined to do, they would infallibly have received the support of the catholics; indeed conferences on the subject were immediately held in the house of the nuncio at Lucern. But they deliberated too long; while on the other hand the protestants carried their expedition into effect with the greatest promptitude, and thus restored the old form of government, which was essentially favourable to them†.

\* "Ihre ewigen Nachkommen," (their eternal posterity,) the expression in the documents relating to the alliance, in Lauffer, *Beschreibung helvetischer Geschichte*, vol. x. p. 331.

† The importance of the Mühlhausen affair in a religious point

At this moment however, the three forest cantons, in conjunction with Zug, Lucern, and Freiburg, made a new and important step. After a long negotiation, they signed a treaty with Spain on the 12th of May, 1587, in which they promised to maintain perpetual amity with the king, and granted him the privilege of raising recruits in their provinces, and of marching his troops through their territory ; while Philip, on his part, made them answerable concessions. Above all, they bound themselves reciprocally by oath, to assist each other with all their might, should either of them be involved in a war for the sake of the holy apostolical religion\*. In this treaty the five cantons made no exceptions, not even in favour of the other members of the confederation ; on the contrary, it was unquestionably framed with especial reference to them ; since there was no other state with whom the contracting parties could be in any danger of a war on account of religion.

How far more powerful there, as well as in France, was the influence of religious, than of national feeling ! A community of faith now united the old Schwytzers and the house of Austria ! The confederation was for the present superseded.

It was an exceedingly fortunate circumstance that no incident occurred to give rise to immediate

of view, is peculiarly evident in the narrative founded on the relations of the nuncio, in the *Anonymo Capitol.* to which we shall return in noticing *Tempesti*.

\* *Traité d'alliance fait entre Philipp II., etc.* Dumont, *Corps diplomatique*, V. 1. p. 459.

dissension, so that the influence of this alliance was at first felt only at Geneva.

Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, a prince actuated all his life by restless ambition, had already often betrayed a desire to repossess himself of Geneva on the first favourable opportunity, as he considered himself its rightful master ; but his designs had till now been promptly defeated by the resistance of the Swiss and the French, and the protection afforded by those powers to the Genevese.

The relations, however, of the parties were now altered ; in the summer of the year 1588, Henry III., influenced by Guise, promised to throw no more impediments in the way of any enterprise against Geneva ; and, at all events, the catholic cantons of Switzerland had now nothing to object to his plans. So far as I can find, they only stipulated that Geneva, when taken, should not subsist as a fortress.

The duke, upon this understanding, armed himself for the attack ; the Genevese did not lose their courage, but in conjunction with their allies of Berne, made an inroad into his territories ; the duke however very soon had the advantage, and the invaders were driven back. Charles Emanuel, who held the countships bordering on Switzerland under very strict limitations, imposed upon him by former treaties of peace with Berne, seized the opportunity immediately to make himself more completely master there. He drove out the protestants, whom, till now, he had been compelled to tolerate,

and made the whole country exclusively catholic. Until this time he had been expressly prohibited from erecting fortresses in this part of his dominions ; he now began to build them in places which might be made available not only for defence, but for annoying Geneva.

But before these affairs were further developed, other enterprises were in agitation, which threatened to produce far more weighty consequences, and to effect a total change in all the political relations of Europe.

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## § 12. ATTEMPT UPON ENGLAND.

The greater part of the Netherlands was conquered, and a negociation was already on foot for the voluntary submission of the remaining portion. In Germany the catholic movement had been triumphant in a great many of the states, and a plan was laid for subjugating those which yet resisted. The champion of French catholicism, by the concurrent influence of victories, investment of the strongholds, attachment of the people, and legitimate authority, advanced in a course which appeared inevitably to lead him to the possession of autocratic power. The old metropolis of the protestant doctrines, the city of Geneva, was no longer protected by her former allies. At this mo-

ment a plan was conceived and adopted, for laying the axe to the root of the tree, by an attack upon England.

England was doubtless the central point of protestant power and policy ; and in queen Elizabeth the still unconquered Netherland provinces, as well as the French huguenots, beheld their most illustrious protector.

But even in England an internal struggle had, as we have already seen, commenced. There was a constant succession of pupils from the seminaries, and of jesuits coming over, impelled at once by religious enthusiasm industriously fostered with that view, and by a longing to revisit their native country. Their efforts were encountered by queen Elizabeth with severe laws. In the year 1582, it was declared high treason to attempt to pervert any of her subjects from the religion established in the realm, to that of Rome\*. In the year 1585 she commanded all jesuits and priests belonging to seminaries to quit England within forty days, under pain of being dealt with as traitors ; in the same manner as the protestant preachers had been driven out of the dominions of so many catholic princes†. With this view she brought into active operation the court of high commission, specially established to inquire into violations of the acts of supremacy and of uniformity, not only according to the usual forms of law, but by whatever means and ways they could

\* Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum Annales* regnante Elizabetha, i. p. 349.

† Ibid. p. 396.

devise, even corporal oath ; in short, it was a species of protestant inquisition\*.

Notwithstanding these acts of despotism, Elizabeth wished to avoid the appearance of offending against freedom of conscience. She declared that it was not the re-establishment of their religion which the jesuits had at heart, but that their object was only to seduce the country to revolt from the government, and thus prepare the way for the entrance of foreign foes. The missionaries on their side, protested, “ before God and the saints,” “ before heaven and earth,” (to use their expressions) that their views were purely religious, and in no way affected the queen’s majesty† ; but what understanding could discriminate between these two sets of motives ? The queen’s inquisitors were not to be put off by a simple assertion, but required a declaration, whether the anathema which Pius V. had fulminated against the queen were lawful and binding upon an Englishman ; the prisoners were called upon to say, if the pope were to absolve them from their oath of allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to ex-

\* “ As well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as also by witnesses and all other means and ways you can devise.” It should at least have been, “ lawful means and ways.” Neal, History of the Puritans, vol. i. p. 414.

† Campiani Vita et Martyrium, p. 159. “ Coram Deo profiteor et angelis ejus, coram cœlo terraque, coram mundo et hoc cui adsto tribunali,—me nec criminis læsæ majestatis nec perduellionis nec ullius in patriam conjurationis esse reum,” &c.

tricate themselves from this dilemma ; they answered, that they would render unto God what was God's, and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's ; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled, execution followed upon execution, and catholicism in its turn had its martyrs. Their number has been estimated at two hundred during the reign of Elizabeth. It may readily be concluded that the zeal of the missionaries was not subdued by these persecutions ; the number and exasperation of the contumacious (the recusants, as they were called) increased with the increasing severity of the laws. Pamphlets found their way even into the court, in which the assassination of Holofernes by Judith was held up as an example of fear of God and heroic courage, worthy of imitation ; the eyes of the many were still constantly turned towards the imprisoned queen of Scotland, who, according to the declarations of the pope, was the lawful sovereign of England ; they were still in constant hope of a general revolution, to be produced by an attack of the catholic powers. The most dreadful descriptions of the cruelties to which the true believers were subjected in England, were circulated throughout Italy and Spain, and excited the sympathy and indignation of all catholics\*.

\* *Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis.* It begins with a “*peculiaris descriptio crudelitatum et immanitatum schismaticorum Angliæ regnante Henrico VIII.*”, and ends with “*Inquisitionis Anglicanæ et facinorum crudelium Machiavellianorum in Anglia et Hibernia a Calvinistis protestantibus*

But the man in whom this sentiment was the most powerful was pope Sixtus. It is unquestionably true that he felt a sort of reverence for the personal qualities, the lofty and dauntless spirit, of Elizabeth, and that he actually invited her to return to the bosom of the catholic church. Strange proposition ! as if she had it in her power to choose ; as if her past life, the whole import of her being, her political position and attitude, did not, even supposing her conviction not to be sincere, enchain her to the protestant cause ! Elizabeth returned no answer, but she laughed. When the pope heard this, he said that he must now devise means for depriving her of her kingdom by force.

Hitherto he had only hinted at such a scheme ; in the spring of 1586, he openly declared his intentions, and boasted that he would assist the king of Spain in an attack upon England, with far different zeal and efficiency from those with which Charles V. had been supported by former popes\*.

In January 1587, he complained loudly of the dilatoriness of the Spaniards, and enumerated the advantages which would accrue to them from a victory in England, with a view to the reconquest of the Netherlands †.

*sub Elizabetha etiamnum regnante peractorum descriptiones.*" It contains prints of unheard-of tortures ; a terrific sight.

\* Dispaccio Gritti, 31 Maggio, 1586 : " Accresciuto quatro volte tanto. Il papa vorria che si fingesse d'andar contra Draco e si piegasse poi in Inghilterra."

† Dispaccio Gritti, 10 Jan. 1587.



He soon became bitter on this subject. On Philip II. publishing a pragmatic decree, by which the spiritual dignities generally, and consequently those claimed by the Roman curia, were abridged, the pope broke out into a fiery passion: "How," exclaimed he, "will Don Philip brave us, and yet allow himself to be trampled upon by a woman? \*"

In truth the king was not spared, since Elizabeth openly espoused the cause of the Netherlands, and Drake rendered every coast of America and Europe unsafe. What pope Sixtus expressed was, at bottom, the feeling of all catholics. They were amazed at the long-suffering of the powerful monarch who could consent to endure so much. The cortes of Castile exhorted him to avenge himself.

Philip was indeed personally insulted; he was held up to ridicule in comedies and masques:—on this being once reported to him, the aged monarch, accustomed only to reverence, started up from his seat with an indignation which had never been witnessed before.

Such was the temper of both the pope and the king, when the news arrived that Elizabeth had ordered the execution of the captive queen of Scotland. This is not the place to inquire into her legal right to authorize such an act; it is principally to be regarded as an act of political justice. The first idea of it arose, as far as I have been able to discover, as early as the time of the massacre of

\* *Dolendosi che'l re si lascia strapazzar da una donna e vuol poi bravar con lei* (S. S<sup>a</sup>).

St. Bartholomew. The bishop of London, in one of his letters to lord Burleigh, expresses his anxiety lest so treacherous a deed should extend its influence to England, and his opinion that the source of the danger lay principally in the Scottish queen: "the safety of the realm," he exclaims, "requires that her head should be cut off\*." Since these words were uttered, how much more powerful had the catholic party become in Europe, how much greater was its fermentation and excitement even in England! Mary Stuart was incessantly in secret correspondence with her cousins the Guises, with the malcontents in England, with the king of Spain, and with the pope. She represented the principle of catholicism, in so far as it was opposed to the existing government, since she would infallibly have been called to the throne at the first success of the catholic party. She expiated with her life a position into which she was forced by circumstances, but from which she certainly made no effort to withdraw.

This execution, however, brought to maturity the schemes of the king of Spain and the pope; they determined to forbear no longer. Sixtus filled the consistory with his invectives against the English Jezebel, who had laid violent hands on the sacred head of a princess subject to none but Jesus

\* Edwin Sandys to Lord Burghley, Fulham, Vth of Sept. 1572, "The saftie of our Quene and Realme, yf God wil, furtwith to cutte of the Scotish Quenes heade: ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas." Ellis's Letters, second series, vol. iii. p. 25.

Christ, and, as she herself admitted, to his representative. In order to show how completely he approved of the activity of the catholic opposition in England, he created William Allen, the first founder of the seminaries, a cardinal ; an appointment which, in Rome at least, was looked upon as a declaration of war against England. A formal treaty was now concluded by king Philip II. and the pope\*, by which the latter promised to the king a subsidy of a million of scudi towards his attack upon England ; but as he was always on his guard, particularly in money matters, he pledged himself to pay the money whenever the king had actual possession of an English port. “ Let your majesty delay no longer,” he writes to Philip ; “ every delay will change good intentions into bad performances.” The king strained to the utmost every resource of his kingdom, and fitted out that armada which was called the Invincible.

Thus did the united powers of Italy and Spain, from which such mighty influences had gone forth over the whole world, now rouse themselves for an attack upon England ! The king had already compiled, from the archives of Simancas, a statement of the claims which he had to the throne of that country on the extinction of the Stuart line ; the most brilliant prospects, especially that of an uni-

\* The original views of the pope ; Dispaccio Gritti, 27 Giugno, 1587. “ Il papa fa gran offerta al re per l'impresa d'Inghilterra, ma vuole la denomination del re *e che'l regno sia feudo della chiesa.*”

versal dominion of the seas, were associated in his mind with this enterprise. Everything seemed to conspire to one end ;—the predominancy of catholicism in Germany, the renewed attack upon the huguenots in France, the attempt upon Geneva, and the enterprise against England. At this same moment a thoroughly catholic prince, Sigismund III., (of whom we shall say more hereafter) ascended the throne of Poland, with the prospect also of future succession to the throne of Sweden.

But whenever any principle or power, be it what it may, aims at unlimited supremacy in Europe, some vigorous resistance to it, having its origin in the deepest springs of human nature, invariably arises.

Philip II. had to encounter newly-awakened powers braced by the vigour of youth, and elevated by a sense of their future destiny. The intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island. The protestants in a body,—even the puritans, although they had been subjected to as severe oppressions as the catholics,—rallied round their queen, who now gave admirable proof of her masculine courage, and her princely talent of winning the affections, and leading the minds, and preserving the allegiance of men. The insular position of the country, the very elements, lent themselves to its defence ; the invincible armada was annihilated, even before it had made its attack ; the enterprise was utterly abortive.

It must, however, be understood that the funda-

mental plan, the great intention itself, was not immediately given up.

The catholics were reminded by the writers of their party, that both Julius Cæsar and Henry VII., the grandfather of Elizabeth, had failed in their first attempt upon England, but had, notwithstanding, eventually become masters of the country. God, they said, often delayed giving the victory to his faithful servants. 'The children of Israel had been twice beaten with great loss in their wars with the tribe of Benjamin; although undertaken upon the express command of God, victory followed only the third attack; "then did the devouring flames make desolate the towns and villages of Benjamin, and the edge of the sword smote both man and beast." "The English," they exclaimed, "should ponder on this, and not be puffed up because their chastisement was deferred\*." Nor had Philip II. in any degree lost his courage. His intention was to fit out smaller and more manageable vessels, and not to attempt to form a junction with the forces of the Netherlands in the channel, but to sail direct for the English coast and endeavour to effect a landing. The arsenal at Lisbon was in a state of the greatest activity. The king was determined to

\* *Andreas Philopatri (Parsoni) ad Elizabethæ reginæ Angliæ edictum responsio*, § 146, 147. "Nulla," he adds, "ipsorum fortitudine repulsa vis est, sed iis potius casibus qui sæpissime in res bellicas solent incidere, aëris nimirum inclementia, maris incogniti inexperientia nonnullorumque fortassis hominum vel negligentia vel inscitia, Dei denique voluntate, quia forte misericors Dominus arborem infructuosam dimittere adhuc voluit ad tertium annum evangelicum."

persevere to the last extremity, even were he compelled, as he once said at table, to sell the silver candlesticks which stood before him\*.

But while his thoughts were employed on this scheme, other prospects opened upon him ; a new arena for the display of the energies and the resources of catholicism, of the characteristic spirit of Italy and Spain, presented itself.

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### § 13. THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY III.

Soon after the disastrous end of the Spanish armada, a reaction arose in France, unexpected, and, (as so often has been the case in that country) violent and bloody.

At the very moment when Guise led the estates of Blois at his will ; at the very moment when it appeared that by his office of constable he must of necessity grasp the whole business of the kingdom in his hands, Henry III. caused him to be as-

\* Dispacci Gradenigo, 29 Sept. 1588. Sì come il re ha sentito molto questo accidente di mala fortuna, così mostra di esser più che mai risoluto di seguitar la impresa con tutte le sue forze.—11 Ott. S. M<sup>a</sup>. sta ardentissima nel pensar e trattar le provisioni per l'anno futuro.—1 Nov. “ Si venderanno,” the king exclaimed, “ esti candellieri, quando non vi sia altro modo di far danari.”

sassinated. This king, who felt that he was made the captive and the tool of the catholic or Spanish party, suddenly broke loose from their chains, and placed himself in opposition to them.

But with Guise, neither his party nor the League were destroyed ; on the contrary, it now assumed a more undisguisedly hostile attitude, and entered into stricter alliance than before with Spain.

Pope Sixtus was completely on their side. The assassination of the duke, whom he loved and admired, and in whom he beheld a pillar of the church, had already filled him with grief and indignation\* ; the murder of cardinal Guise also appeared to him intolerable. “ A cardinal priest,” he exclaimed in the consistory, “ a noble member of the holy see,—without trial or judgment, and by the secular arm,—as if there were no pope in the world,—as if no God existed.” He reproached his legate Morosini for not having immediately excommunicated the king ; he ought to have done it, had it cost him a hundred times his life†.

The king was little troubled by the anger of

\* The pope likewise particularly complained, that the king had obtained a brief from him, “ *che li concesse poter esser assolto da qualsivoglia peccato anco riservato alla sede apostolica, col quale si voglia hora coprire il grave peccato che ha fatto.*” (Disp. Veneto.)

† Tempesti gives, ii. 137, both the speech of the pope, in all its length, and the letter to Morosini. “ *Essendo ammazzato il Cardinale,*” it is there said, “ *in faccia di V. S<sup>ria</sup>. Ill<sup>ma</sup>., legato a latere, come non ha publicato l’interdetto, ancorchè gliene fossero andate cento vite ?*”

the pope, and was not to be frightened into setting at liberty cardinal Bourbon or the archbishop of Lyons, whom he kept prisoners. Demands were constantly sent from Rome that he should declare Henry of Navarre incapable of succeeding to the throne ; in defiance of which he entered into alliance with him.

Upon this the pope determined to proceed to extremities ; he cited the king to appear in person at Rome to justify himself for the murder of the cardinal, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not set the prisoners free within a specified time. This, he declared, was the course he was bound to pursue ; should he act otherwise, he must expect to be called to account by God, as the most useless of all popes. Having thus fulfilled his duty, he need not fear the whole world ; he doubted not but that Henry III. would perish like king Saul\*.

The king was moreover looked upon by the zealous catholics and the partisans of the League as an accursed outcast ; the proceedings of the pope encouraged them in their furious opposition, and sooner than could have been expected his prophecy was fulfilled. On the 23rd of June the *monitorium* of the pope was published in France ; on the 1st of August the king was assassinated by Clément.

The pope himself was astonished. “ In the midst of his own army,” exclaims he, “ on the point of

\* Dispaccio Veneto, 20 Maggio, 1589. “ Il papa accusa la sua negligentia di non haver fatto dipoi mesi 5 che gli è stato ammazzato un cardinale e tenuto un’ altro prigioniero con un arcivescovo, alcuna rimostrazione o provisione. Dubita dell’ ira di Dio,” etc.



taking Paris, in his very cabinet, was he killed by a poor monk, with one stroke\*." He ascribes this to the immediate hand of God, who thus testified that he would not desert France.

How is it that men can be so utterly blinded by fanaticism? This conviction was shared by innumerable catholics. "It is only to the hand of the Almighty himself," writes Mendoza to Philip, "that this fortunate event is to be ascribed†." The young Maximilian of Bavaria, who was then studying at Ingolstadt, in one of the first letters of his which are extant, expresses to his mother his joy that the king of France was killed‡.

This event had, however, another aspect. Henry of Navarre, whom the pope had excommunicated, and the Guises so relentlessly persecuted, now stepped into his lawful rights. A protestant assumed the title of king of France. The League, Philip II., and the pope were determined on no conditions to suffer him to obtain the enjoyment of those rights. In the room of Morosini, who had shown himself far too lukewarm, Sixtus V. sent to France another legate, Gaetano, who was thought to be inclined to Spain, and (what he had never done before) gave him a sum of money, to be spent in the manner most conducive to the advantage of

\* Disp. Ven. 1 Sett. Il papa nel consistorio discorre, che'l successo della morte del re di Francia si ha da conoscer dal voler espresso del S<sup>r</sup> Dio, e che perciò si doveva confidar che continuerebbe al haver quel regno nella sua protettione.

† Capefigue, v. 290.

‡ Wolf, Maximilian I. part i. p. 107.

the League. Above all things he was to take care that none but a catholic should be king of France. Undoubtedly the crown ought always to descend to a prince of the blood, but that was not the only thing to be considered; in other cases the strict order of succession had been deviated from, but never had a heretic been permitted to reign. The main point in short was, that the king should be a good catholic\*.

In this state of mind, it will readily be imagined that the pope thought it a commendable act of the duke of Savoy to take advantage of the confusion which reigned in France, in order to make himself master of Saluzzo, which then belonged to the French; it was better, said Sixtus, that the duke should have it, than that it should fall into the hands of the huguenots†.

The main object now was, to endeavour to render the League victorious in the struggle with Henry IV.

To this end a new treaty between Spain and the pope was drawn up. That most zealous inquisitor, cardinal Sanseverina, was commissioned, under the seal of confession, to arrange the terms. The pope promised faithfully to send into France an

\* *Dispaccio Veneto*, 30 Sett. The pope declares, “che non importava che'l fosse eletto più del sangue che di altra famiglia, essendo ciò altre volte occorso, ma mai eretico dopo la nostra religione: che Savoia, Lorena e forse anche Umena pretendeva la corona; che S. S.<sup>a</sup>. non vuol favorir l'uno più che l'altro.” Extract from the *Instruction in Tempesti*, ii. 233.

† He met with reproaches on this account; “Il papa si giustifica con molte ragioni della impresa che 'l sopradetto duca ha fatto del marchesato di Saluzzo con sua participatione.” (*Disp. Veneto.*)

army of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse ; he also declared himself ready to advance subsidies, as soon as the king should have penetrated with a large army into France. The papal troops were to be commanded by the duke of Urbino, a subject of his holiness and a partisan of the king of Spain\*.

Such were the preparations made by the combined powers of Italy and Spain, in conjunction with their adherents in France, with a view to secure the throne of that country for ever to their party.

More extensive prospects could not be opened to the ambition of the king of Spain or the pope. Spain would for ever be freed from that ancient rivalry by which she had so long been held in check ; and the result proved how intensely Philip II. had this at heart. The exercise of an efficient influence in placing a king on the throne of France, would also have added immensely to the dignity and authority of the see of Rome. Gaetano had directions to insist upon the introduction of the inquisition, and the abolition of the Gallican privileges ; but the exclusion of a legitimate prince from the succession, solely on account of his religion, would have been a far more important triumph. The ecclesiastical spirit which at that moment pervaded the world would thus have attained to absolute and undisputed supremacy.

\* Authentic account in the autobiography of the Cardinal, adopted by Tempesti, ii. 236.

## BOOK VI.



## COUNTER REFORMATION.

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### INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE current of public opinion had taken a direction the most opposite from that which might reasonably have been expected at the beginning of the century.

At that time there was a general relaxation of the authority and discipline of the church ; the nations sought to sever themselves from their common spiritual head ; the papacy itself nearly forgot its hierarchical character ; while in literature and art profane tastes and studies prevailed, and the principles of a pagan morality were avowed without disguise.

At the moment we are contemplating, how totally was all this changed ! In the name of religion wars were declared, conquests achieved, states revolutionized. The history of the world does not present a time in which the clergy were more powerful than at the end of the sixteenth century. They sat in kings' councils, and discussed political matters before all the people from the pulpit ; they governed schools, learning, and the whole domain

of letters ; the confessional afforded them opportunity of prying into the secret conflicts of the soul, and of deciding in all the difficult and doubtful circumstances of private life. It may, perhaps, be maintained that the very causes which rendered their influence so extensive and searching, were their violent dissensions among themselves, and the contradictions which existed in their own body.

This was indeed true of both parties, but in a more especial manner of the catholics. With them, the ideas and the institutions which subject the mind more immediately to discipline and to guidance, had attained to the greatest perfection, and the most complete adaptation to their end ; it was impossible to live without a father confessor. With them, too, the clergy, either as brethren of an order, or at any rate as members of the hierarchy, composed a corporation held together in strict subordination, and working in one spirit and with one intention. The head of this hierarchical body, the pope of Rome, was once more invested with a power scarcely inferior to that which he had possessed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries ; he kept the interest and the zeal of the world constantly alive by the frequent enterprises which he undertook under the influence, or the pretext, of religion.

Under these circumstances the most arrogant pretensions of the times of Hildebrand were resuscitated ; weapons which had been preserved in the arsenal of canon law rather for curiosity than use, were now brought into full activity.

But the European commonwealth has in no age submitted to the dominion of mere force ; under all its phases, its condition has been influenced by speculations and opinions ; no important enterprise has ever been carried through, no power has ever arisen to universal importance, without instantly awakening in the minds of men the idea of a possible new order of society. This idea next gives birth to theories, which are the expression of the moral signification and purport of facts ; and which represent those facts as universal truths, deduced from reason or from religion, and arrived at by reflection. They thus anticipate the fulfilment of the event, to which at the same time they most powerfully contribute.

The events we are about to consider afford an illustration of these remarks.

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#### § 1. THEORY OF THE CONNEXION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

It has been common to ascribe to the principle of the catholic religion a peculiar connexion, a natural sympathy, with the monarchical or aristocratical forms of government. A century like the 16th, in which this principle manifested itself in the fullest energy and conscious intentionality, affords us the most instructive data upon which to form a judgment on this question.



Looking at the facts, we find that in Italy and Spain it attached itself to the existing order of things ; in Germany it even enabled the sovereign power to acquire new and increased predominancy over the popular assemblies ; in the Netherlands it aided the conqueror ; and in Northern Germany and the Walloon provinces it was maintained with peculiar and strenuous attachment by the nobility.

But if we carry our inquiries further, we shall find that these were not the only sympathies which it awakened. If in Cologne the patrician party were its zealous upholders, in the neighbouring city of Trèves the common people were not less so. In the large cities of France it was universally allied with the claims and the efforts of the popular party. The results of an extensive and unprejudiced inquiry will show, that catholicism always attached itself to the side on which it found its firmest prop and most powerful ally. When the established authorities were opposed to it, it was very far from sparing or even from recognising them. It confirmed the Irish nation in its ancient and hereditary resistance to the English government. In England itself it undermined to the utmost of its power the allegiance demanded by the queen, and often broke out in active rebellion ; in France it confirmed its adherents in their resistance to their legitimate princes.

This religious system has no inherent or necessary affinity to one form of government more than to another. Even during the short period of its re-

vival, catholicism displayed the most opposite predilections ; first, for monarchy in Italy and Spain, and for the strengthening of the hereditary sovereign power in Germany ; next for the maintenance of lawfully constituted aristocratical bodies in the Netherlands ; and, at the conclusion of the century, it formed a decided alliance with the democratical spirit. This was the more important, as it now stood in the plenitude of its activity, and the movements in which it took part are in fact the most important events which agitated the political world. Had the popes succeeded at this moment, they would have achieved for ever the predominancy of the church over the state. They put forward claims, and their adherents enounced opinions and principles, which threatened kingdoms and states both with internal convulsions and with the loss of independence.

It was principally the jesuits who entered the lists as the proclaimers and the champions of these doctrines.

They laid claim, first, to an absolute supremacy of the church over the state.

The agitation of this question was in some sort inevitable in England, where the queen had been declared head of the church. That principle was met by the heads of the catholic opposition with the most violent pretensions on the other side. William Allen declares it to be not only the right, but the duty of a nation, especially when backed by the command of the pope, to refuse allegiance to a prince who has apostatized from the catholic

church\*. Parsons holds, that it is the fundamental condition of all authority in a temporal prince, that he should foster and defend the Roman catholic faith; that he is bound to do this by his baptismal vow and by his coronation oath; it would therefore be blindness to regard him as capable of reigning if he did not fulfil this condition; his subjects were, on the contrary, bound in such a case to expel him†. These opinions are perfectly natural and consistent in writers who place the main purpose and duty of life in the exercise of religion; they believe the Roman catholic to be the only true religion, and they conclude that there can be no lawful authority which is opposed to that religion; thus they make the existence of a government, and the obedience which it receives, dependent on the application of its power to the advancement of the interests of the church.

\* In the letter, *Ad persecutores Anglos pro Christianis responsio*, 1582, I notice the following passage:—"Si reges Deo et Dei populo fidem datam fregerint, vicissim populo non solum permittitur, sed etiam ab eo requiritur, ut, jubente Christi vicario, supremo nimirum populorum omnium pastore, ipse quoque fidem datam tali principi non sernet."

† *Andreas Philopatri (Personi) ad Elizabethæ reginæ edictum responsio*, No. 162: "Non tantum licet, sed summa etiam juris divini necessitate ac præcepto, imo conscientiae vinculo arctissimo et extremo animarum suarum periculo ac discrimine Christianis omnibus hoc ipsum incumbit, si præstare rem possunt." No. 160: "Incumbit vero tum maxime — — cum res jam ab ecclesia ac supremo ejus moderatore, pontifice nimirum Romano, judicata est: ad illum enim ex officio pertinet religionis ac divini cultus incolumitati prospicere et leprosos a mundis ne inficiantur discernere."

This however was the general drift of the doctrines now rising into popularity. That which was asserted in England in the heat of the struggle, was repeated by Bellarmine in the solitude of his study, in elaborate works, in a connected, well-digested system. He laid it down as a fundamental maxim, that the pope was placed immediately by God over the whole church as its guardian and chief\*. Hence the fulness of spiritual power belongs to him ; hence he is endowed with infallibility ; he judges all, and may be judged by none ; and hence a great share of temporal authority accrues to him. Bellarmine does not go so far as to ascribe to the pope a temporal power derived directly from divine right† ; although Sixtus V. cherished this opinion, and was consequently displeased that it was abandoned ; but so much the more unhesitatingly did Bellarmine attribute to him an indirect right. He compares the temporal power with the body, the spiritual with the soul, of man ; he ascribes to the church the same dominion over the state which the soul exercises over the body. The spiritual power had, he affirms, the right and the duty to impose a curb on the tempo-

\* Bellarminus de conciliorum autoritate, c. 17 : “ Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolute est supra ecclesiam universam et supra concilium generale, ita ut nullum in terris supra se iudicium agnoscat.”

† Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v. vi. : “ Asserimus pontificem ut pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam meram temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus rebus omnium Christianorum.”

ral, whenever that became injurious to the interests of religion. It cannot be affirmed that the pope is entitled to a regular influence over the legislation of the state\*; but if a law were necessary to the salvation of souls and the sovereign hesitated to enact it; or if a law were injurious to the salvation of souls and the sovereign was obstinately determined to maintain it, the pope is certainly justified in ordaining the one and in abolishing the other. This principle was sufficient to carry him a great way. Does not the safety of the soul prescribe even death to the body when necessary? As a general rule, the pope could certainly not dethrone a prince; but should it become necessary to the salvation of souls, he possessed the right of changing a government, or of transferring it from one ruler to another†. These assertions led, by a very easy application, to the principle, that the kingly power also rested on divine right. If not, what was its origin? what the sanction inherent in it?

\* Bellarminus de Romano pontifice, v. vi. : “ Quantum ad personas, non potest papa ut papa ordinarie temporales principes deponere, etiam justa de causa, eo modo quo deponit episcopos, id est tanquam ordinarius iudex : tamen potest mutare regna et uni auferre atque alteri conferre tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium sit ad animarum,” etc. etc.

† These doctrines are in fact only fresh combinations of the principles laid down in the 13th century. Thomas Aquinas had already drawn the comparison which here plays so important a part : “ Potestas secularis subditur spirituali sicut corpus animæ.” Bellarmine, in the “ Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus adversus G. Barclajum,” enumerates more than seventy writers of different countries, by whom the authority of the pope is regarded in the same light as by himself.

The jesuits had no hesitation in deriving the sovereign power from the people. They incorporated their theory of the sovereignty of the people and of the omnipotence of the pope into one system. This, more or less openly expressed, lay at the foundation of the opinions of Allen and Parsons. Belarmine first endeavoured to establish it on a firm and thoroughly worked-out basis. He maintains that God had conferred supreme temporal power on no individual in particular, and consequently had conferred it on the many;—that this power therefore resided in the people, who might commit it either to one or to several; that they retained an indefeasible right to alter the forms of government, to resume the sovereignty, and to transfer it into new hands. It must not be supposed that these views were peculiar to him; this is the prevailing doctrine of the jesuit schools of that time. In a manual for confessors, which circulated through the whole catholic world and was revised by the “Magister sacri Palatii,” the temporal sovereign is treated not only as subject to the pope, in so far as the safety of souls required\*; but it is roundly asserted that a king may be dethroned on account of tyranny or neglect of his duties, and another chosen in his place by the majority of the nation†. Franciscus Suarez, professor

\* *Aphorismi confessoriorum ex doctorum sententiis collecti, autore Emanuele Sa, nuper accurate expurgati a rev<sup>mo</sup> P. M. sacri palatii*, ed. Antv., p. 480. The author however adds, as if he had said too little, “*Quidam tamen juris periti putarunt summum pontificem suprema civili potestate pollere.*”

† *Ibid.* p. 508 (ed. Colon., p. 313), “*Rex potest per rempublicam privari ob tyrannidem et si non faciat officium suum, et cum*

primarius of theology at Coimbra, in his defence of the catholic church against the anglican, gives a most elaborate exposition and confirmation of Bellarmine's doctrine\*. But the writer who develops the idea of the sovereignty of the people with the greatest complacency and emphasis is Mariana. He suggests all the questions which can arise out of this idea, and decides them without hesitation in favour of the people, and to the prejudice of the kingly authority. He does not question that a king may be dethroned, nay put to death, if his life is injurious to religion. He pronounces an eulogium, full of pathetical declamation, on Jacques Clément, who first took counsel of divines, and then went forth and assassinated his king†. He has at least the merit of being perfectly consistent; nor can it be doubted that these doctrines inflamed the fanaticism of the assassin.

For in no country were they promulgated with such furious violence as in France. It is impossible to find anything more anti-royalist than the diatribes which Jean Boucher thundered from the pulpit. It is in the Estates that he places the *est aliqua causa justa, et eligi potest alius a majore parte populi: quidam tamen solum tyrannidem causam putant.*"

\* R. P. Franc. Suarez Granatensis, etc., *defensio fidei catholicæ et apostolicæ adversus Anglicanæ sectæ errores*, lib. iii., de summi pontificis supra temporales reges excellentia et potestate. It is easy to see that Bellarmine's doctrine of the right of the people to revoke powers which had been abused, had excited the strongest opposition.

† Mariana de rege et regis institutione. "Jac. Clemens,— — cognito a theologis, quos erat sciscitatus, tyrannum jure interimi posse—cæso rege ingens sibi nomen fecit."

public might and majesty, the power to bind and to loose, the indefeasible sovereignty, the supreme jurisdiction over sceptre and realm ; for in them is the source of all power : the prince is raised from the mass of the people, not of necessity and compulsion, but of free choice. Boucher takes the same view of the connexion of the state with the church as Bellarmine, and repeats his illustration of the connexion between body and soul. 'There is only one limitation, he says, to the free choice of the people ; there is only one thing forbidden—viz. to place on the throne an heretical monarch ; that would be to draw down upon themselves the curse of God\*.

Strange union of spiritual pretensions and democratic ideas ; of absolute freedom and complete subjection ;—self-contradictory and anti-national ; yet such was the doctrine which bound all minds as with a mysterious spell !

Hitherto the Sorbonne had always stood forth as the champion of the royal and national privileges,

\* Jean Boucher, Sermons, Paris, 1594, in several passages. In p. 194 he says, " L'église seigneurie les royaumes et estats de la Chretienté, non pour y usurper puissance directe comme sur son propre temporel, mais bien indirectement pour empescher que rien ne se passe au temporel qui soit au prejudice du royaume de Jesus Christ, comme par cydevant il a été déclaré par la similitude de la puissance de l'esprit sur le corps." Further on, " La difference du prestre et du roi nous eclaircit cette matiere, le prestre estant de Dieu seul, ce qui ne se peut dire du roi. Car si tous les rois estoient morts, les peuples s'en pourroient bien faire d'autres : mais s'il n'y avoit plus aucun prestre, il faudroit que Jesus Christ vint en personne pour en faire de nouveaux." p. 162.



against the ultra-montane and sacerdotal assumptions. But when, after the assassination of the Guises, these doctrines were preached from every pulpit; when men cried aloud in the streets and represented by symbols in processions, that king Henry III. had lost his right to the crown, “the good citizens and inhabitants of the city,” as they called themselves, “in the scruples of their consciences,” addressed themselves to the theological faculty of the university of Paris, in order to obtain a safe decision as to the legality of resistance to their sovereign lord. Hereupon the Sorbonne met on the 7th of January, 1589. “After,” says their decision, “having heard the mature and free counsels of all the *magistri*; after many and various arguments, for the most part literally drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the canon law, and the papal ordinances, the dean of the faculty decided without a dissentient voice;—first, that the people of this kingdom are absolved from the oath of allegiance and fidelity which they took to king Henry: further, that this people without scruple of conscience may assemble, arm, and collect money for the support of the Roman catholic apostolical religion against the execrable proceedings of the said king\*.” Seventy members of the faculty were present; the younger of them carried through this resolution with the fiercest enthusiasm†.

\* *Responsum facultatis theologicæ Parisiensis*, printed in the *Additions au Journal de Henry III.*, vol. i. p. 317.

† Thuanus, lib. 94, p. 258, gives the number of those present at sixty only, and will not allow their unanimity, although the

The universal assent which these theories received, arose no doubt mainly from their being at this moment the real expression of the fact—of the historical phenomenon. For, in the French troubles, popular and priestly resistance had advanced from their respective sides to form an alliance; the citizens of Paris were encouraged and held firm in their revolt against their lawful sovereign by a legate of the pope. Bellarmine himself was for a time in the retinue of the legate. The doctrines which he developed in his learned solitude, which he promulgated with so much consistency and with so much success, were expressed in the event of which he was at once the witness and, in part, the author.

Another circumstance connected with this is, that the Spaniards approved these doctrines; that so jealous a monarch as Philip II. tolerated them. The Spanish monarchy rested indeed on a combination of spiritual attributes. In numerous passages of Lope di Vega we see that it was so understood by the nation; that they loved in their sovereign the religious Majesty and wished to see it represented in his person. But besides this, the king was implicated in the schemes and efforts of the catholic restoration, not only with the priests, but even with the revolted people. The citizens of Paris reposed far greater confidence in him than in the French princes, the chiefs of the league. A new ally

document mentioned expressly says, “*audita omnium et singulorum magistrorum, qui ad septuaginta convenerant, deliberatione . . . conclusum est nemine refragante.*”

now appeared on his side in the doctrines of the jesuits. It was impossible not to perceive that he might have something to fear from them; but this was more than counterbalanced by the effect they had in giving to his policy a justification based both on law and on religion; of great advantage, even to his weight and dignity in Spain, and of still greater as opening the way directly to his foreign enterprises. The king was more intent on this immediate utility than on the general purport and tendency of the jesuit doctrines\*.

And is not this commonly the case with regard to political doctrines? Are they to be considered as the results, or as the causes of facts? Are they valued more for their own sakes, or for the sake of the personal advantages which men promise themselves from their dissemination?

Be this as it may, their force remains the same. Whilst the jesuit doctrines expressed the efforts of the reviving and reforming papacy (or rather of that general current of opinions and affairs in the midst of which the papacy was placed), they imparted to

\* Pedro Ribadeneira repeated it, it is true, under a moderated form, but still he did repeat it, in his book against Machiavelli, which was already completed in 1595, and presented to the prince of Spain. “*Tratado de la religion y virtudes que deve tener el principe Christiano para governar y conservar sus estados, contra lo que Nicolo Machiavello y los politicos d’este tiempo enseñan.*” Anveres, 1597. Princes, he thinks, are servants of the church, but not her rulers; armed to chastise heretics, the enemies of and rebels to the church, but not to impose laws upon her or to declare the will of God. He adheres to the comparison of the body and the soul. The kingdom of the earth, as St. Gregory says, should be subservient to the kingdom of heaven.

it new strength, by giving it a systematic foundation in the spirit of the prevalent theological opinions ; they fostered a disposition of mind, on the general diffusion of which victory depended.

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## § 2. CONFLICT OF OPINIONS.

Never however has either a political power, or a political doctrine, succeeded in acquiring absolute and sole dominion over Europe.

Nor is it possible to imagine one which, when compared with the ideal, and with the loftiest conceptions of which man is capable, does not appear inevitably fatal to largeness and impartiality of mind.

In all times has opposition arisen to opinions which strove for exclusive domination ; an opposition springing out of the fathomless depths of the feelings and interests of the mass, and evolving new powers and new energies.

We have remarked that no kind of power ever rises into importance which does not repose on the basis of ideas ; we may now add that in ideas it finds its limits. The struggles of opinion which generate great political acts and events, also find their accomplishment in the regions of conviction and of thought.

Thus national independence, which is the proper expression of the temporal element of society, now rose in powerful opposition to the idea of a sacer-

dotal religion, supreme and predominant over all temporal powers.

The Germanic institution of royalty, extended over the Romance nations and deeply rooted among them, has never been overthrown or shaken, either by the pretensions of priests or by the fiction of the sovereignty of the people ;—a fiction which has in every case eventually proved itself untenable.

The strange alliance into which these principles had entered at the time we are contemplating, was opposed by the doctrine of the divine right of kings. It was next attacked by the protestants, (who appear to have vacillated,) with all the zeal and vigour of an enemy who sees his antagonist playing a desperate game, and entering on courses that must lead to destruction.

The protestants maintained that God alone set princes and rulers over the race of men ; that he had reserved to himself the power to exalt or to abase, to divide and to mete out. It is true, they said, he no longer descended from heaven to show by outward signs those to whom dominion should belong ; but, by his eternal providence, laws and an established order of things had been introduced in every kingdom, according to which a ruler was appointed. If a king, in virtue of these laws and institutions, came to power, that fact was equivalent to a declaration by the voice of God that he should be king. God had indeed of old pointed out to his people the persons of Moses, the judges, and the first kings ; but after an established order was once introduced, the others who succeeded to

the throne were not less God's anointed than their predecessors\*.

From these principles the protestants proceeded to urge the necessity of submission, even to unjust and culpable princes. Besides, they argued, no man was perfect ; and if the law was not treated as inviolable, people would avail themselves of the slightest failings as a pretext for getting rid of a king. Even heresy did not generally absolve subjects from their allegiance. A son ought not indeed to obey a godless father in things contrary to God's commandments, but in all other things he remained bound to pay him reverence and submission.

It would have been a matter of no little moment, if only the protestants had developed and maintained these opinions ; but it was far more important that a part of the French catholics likewise adopted them, or rather, that their own spontaneous convictions coincided with them.

In defiance of the pope's excommunication, a considerable body of good catholics remained faithful to Henry III., and afterwards transferred their allegiance to Henry IV. The jesuit doctrines did not succeed with the party in question ; nor were they wanting in arguments by which to defend their position, without involving any apostacy from catholicism.

This party next endeavoured to define the author-

\* “ *Explicatio controversiarum quæ a nonnullis moventur ex Henrici Borbonii regis in regnum Franciæ constitutione, . . . . opus . . . . a Tossano Bercheto Lingonensi e Gallico in Latinum sermonem conversum.*” Sedani, 1590. Cap. 2.

ity of the clergy, and their relation to the temporal power, from an opposite point of view to that of the jesuits. They came to the conviction that the spiritual kingdom was not of this world, and that the power of the clergy regarded spiritual things alone. Excommunication, from its very nature, could touch only the participation in ecclesiastical privileges, and had no power to abstract anything from the enjoyment of secular rights. But a king of France could not even be excluded from the communion of the church, since this was a privilege indefeasibly attached to the banner of the lilies; how much less was it then permitted to deprive him of his inheritance! And where was it distinctly written that men might rebel against their king, and resort to force against him? They urged that God had set him over them, as was indicated by the words used in his title, 'by the grace of God'; and that the only case in which a subject could refuse him obedience was, if he required anything contrary to God's commandments\*.

From these divine laws they then deduced that they were not only permitted, but bound to acknowledge a protestant king. Such as God appoints a king, must his subjects accept him; obedience to him is a commandment of God, nor could there possibly exist a ground for depriving a king of his rights†. They even maintained that their

\* In this I follow the extracts from an anonymous writing which appeared at Paris in the year 1588 in Cayet, *Collection universelle des Mémoires*, tom. 56, p. 44.

† Etienne Pasquier, *Recherches de France*, 341, 344.

view of the case was the most favourable to the catholic interest ; that Henry IV. was judicious, gracious, and upright, and that nothing but good was to be anticipated from him ; that if they endeavoured to shake off his authority, petty rulers would spring up on every side, and that it was precisely this universal division which would throw the power into the hands of the protestant party\*.

In this way an opposition to those ambitious projects of the papacy which had been generated by the catholic restoration, arose within the pale of catholicism itself ; and it was from the very first doubtful whether Rome would be able to extinguish it. Not only were the principles of this party, although less elaborately developed, yet more firmly based on the convictions of the European world than those of the orthodox party, but the position they had taken up was perfectly just and irreproachable ; the circumstance, however, most propitious to them was, the alliance which subsisted between the papal doctrines and the Spanish power.

The monarchy of Philip II. seemed every day to become more dangerous to the liberties of the world ; throughout Europe it awakened that jealous hate arising less from committed acts of violence and oppression, than from the fear of them, and from the danger which seemed to impend over freedom ;—a hate which takes unconscious possession of men's hearts.

\* Explanation in Thuanus, lib. 97, p. 316 : “ Sectarios dissoluto imperio et singulis regni partibus a reliquo corpore divisissimè potentiores fore.”



The connexion subsisting between Rome and Spain was now so intimate, that the opponents of the claims of the church were also the adversaries of the progress of Spanish power. They filled a post which had become necessary to Europe, and were therefore certain of co-operation and support. Nations were united by a secret sympathy. This national party of French catholics found determined allies who had risen up uncalled and in unexpected places ;—even in Italy itself, under the very eye of the pope.

The first were the Venetians.

A few years previously (in 1582) a change had taken place in Venice, noiseless indeed, and almost overlooked in the history of the republic, but not the less influential. Up to that period the weightier part of public affairs had been in the hands of a few aged patricians, chosen out of a small circle of families. At the time we speak of, a discontented majority in the senate, consisting more especially of the younger members, who unquestionably had, according to the constitution, a right to a share in the government, were struggling for power.

The government hitherto subsisting had never neglected to keep jealous guard over its independence; yet it had attached itself to the measures of Spain and of the church, whenever it was practicable. The new rulers no longer entertained these views; the mere spirit of contradiction would indeed have sufficed to inspire them with an inclination to hold those powers in check.

The Venetians had certainly a strong interest in pursuing that course.

On the one side they observed with displeasure that the doctrine of the pope's omnipotence and of blind obedience to his edicts, found apostles among them ; on the other, they feared the complete destruction of the balance of power in Europe, if the Spaniards should succeed in obtaining a preponderant influence in France. The freedom of Europe had hitherto appeared to rest on the mutual enmity of these two nations.

The course and issue of French affairs were thus followed with a double intensity of interest. Writings which advocated the rights of kings were caught up with eagerness. There was a society exercising remarkable influence, which assembled at the house of Andrea Morosini, resorted to by Leonardo Donato, Nicolo Contarini, both afterwards doges ; Domenico Molino, in later times a leading chief of the republic ; Fra Paolo Sarpi, and some other distinguished men ;—all of an age at which men are disposed not only to adopt new ideas, but to retain and act upon them ; all declared adversaries of the arrogant pretensions of the church, and of the overbearing power of Spain \*. It will ever be very important to the formation and the influence of a

\* In the anonymous *Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi*, p. 104, (by Fra Fulgentio,) in *Griselini's Memorabilia of Fra Paolo*, pp. 40, 78, and in some passages of *Foscarini*, we find accounts of this "ridotto Mauroceno." Besides those we have mentioned, Pietro and Giacopo Contarini, Giacopo Morosini, Leonardo Mocenigo, (who however did not attend so regularly as the others,) Antonio Quirini, Giacopo

system of political opinions, (even when they are founded on facts,) that they are adopted by men of talent who become their representatives and disseminators; it is doubly important in a republic.

Under these circumstances, men did not confine themselves to thoughts and inclinations. From the beginning of his career, the Venetians believed in the ability of Henry IV. to resuscitate France, and thus restore the balance of power. Although bound by manifold obligations to the pope who had excommunicated Henry; although encircled both by land and sea by the Spaniards who aimed at his destruction; although possessed of no extensive and commanding power, yet had Venice, of all the catholic states, first the courage to acknowledge him. On the notification of their ambassador Mocenigo, they were the first to authorize him to congratulate Henry IV. on his accession to the throne of France\*. Their example failed not to animate others. Although the grand-duke Ferdinand of Tuscany had not courage for an open recognition of Henry's rights, he engaged in a friendly personal correspondence with the new monarch†. The protestant king suddenly saw himself surrounded with catholic allies, nay even taken under their protection, against the supreme head of their own church.

Marcello, Marino Zane, and Alessandro Malipiero, who, notwithstanding his great age, always accompanied Fra Paolo home, belonged to this society.

\* *Andreas Mauroceni Historiarum Venetarum lib. xiii. p. 548.*

† *Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato di Toscana, lib. v. (t. v. p. 78).*

In times when any great and momentous question is to be decided, the public opinion of Europe invariably declares itself in favour of the one side or the other, with a distinctness and energy that leave no room for doubt. Fortunate is he in whose favour it inclines ! whatever he undertakes is accomplished with double facility. It now espoused the cause of Henry IV. The ideas associated with his name, though scarcely expressed, were already so powerful, that it appeared not impossible to lead the papacy itself to recognise their justice.

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### § 3. LATTER TIMES OF SIXTUS V.

We return once more to Sixtus V. After having observed his internal administration, and the share he took in the restoration of the church, we must say a few words of his general policy.

It is most remarkable what a strange inclination for fantastical political plans was combined with the inexorable justice he executed, the severe financial system he introduced, and the accurate and frugal conduct of his domestic affairs.

How extravagant were the projects he conceived ! For a long time he flattered himself that he should be able to annihilate the Turkish empire. He entered into correspondences in the East, with the Persians, and with the Druses, certain Arab chiefs ; he fitted out galleys, and obtained from Spain and

Tuscany a promise of others. He also imagined that he could render assistance to king Stephen Bathory of Poland, who was to make the principal attack on Turkey by land. The pope hoped to unite all the forces of the north-east and the south-west for this enterprise, and persuaded himself that Russia would voluntarily become not only the ally but the subject of Poland.

At another time he fancied he could conquer Egypt, either single-handed or with the sole assistance of Tuscany. On this project he built the most remote and complicated schemes,—the opening a passage between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean\*, the re-establishment of the commerce of the ancient world, and the conquest of the holy sepulchre. But if so vast a design should appear not immediately practicable, he imagined that at least an incursion might be made into Syria, and by the aid of skilful workmen, the tomb of the Saviour be excavated from the rock and carefully transported to Italy! Already he indulged the hope of being able to erect in Montalto this most sacred of shrines; then would his native province, the March, where the sacred house of Loreto already stood, contain within its narrow limits the birthplace and the tomb of the Redeemer.

\* Dispaccio Gritti, 23 Agosto 1587. “(Il papa) entrò a parlar della fossa che li re dell’ Egitto non havevano fatta per passar del mare rosso nel mar mediterraneo.” He sometimes entertained the project of attacking Egypt single-handed. “Scoprì la causa del desiderar danari per impiegarli in una armata che vorria far solo per l’ impresa dell’ Egitto e pagar quelle galee che ajutassero a far quella impresa.”

There is another idea which I find ascribed to him, surpassing all these in extravagance. After the assassination of the Guises, it is asserted that a proposition was made to Henry III. to acknowledge a nephew of the pope as successor to the throne of France. The legate, it is said, made this proposal with the pope's knowledge. If the adoption took place with the requisite solemnities, his holiness was persuaded that the king of Spain would give the declared successor the Infanta in marriage ; such a succession would be acknowledged by every one, and all troubles would have an end. It is confidently affirmed that Henry III. was really allured by these projects for a moment, till it was represented to him what a reputation for cowardice and pusillanimity he would acquire by yielding to them\*.

\* This notice exists in a *Mémoire du S<sup>r</sup> de Schomberg, M<sup>l</sup> de France sous Henry III.*, among the Hohenbaum MSS. in the imperial library at Vienna, No. 114 : " Quelque tems après la mort de M<sup>r</sup> de Guise avenue en Blois il fut proposé par le C<sup>l</sup> de Moresino de la part de Sa Sainteté, que si S. M. vouloit declarer le marquis de Pom [probably misspelt] son neveu heritier de la couronne et le faire recevoir pour tel avec solemnitez requises, que S. S. s'assuroit que le roy d'Espagne bailleroit en mariage audit marquis l'infante et qu'en ce faisant tous les troubles de France prendroient fin. A quoi le roy etant prest à se laisser aller et ce par la persuasion de quelqu'uns qui pour lors estoient pres de S. M., M<sup>r</sup> de Schomberg rompist ce coup par telles raisons, que ce seroit l'invertir l'ordre de France, abolir les loix fondamentales, laisser à la posterité un argument certain de la lâcheté et pusillanimité de S. M."

It is true that Schomberg makes a merit of having prevented the execution of this project, but I should not for that reason be inclined to think it so entirely chimerical. The *Mémoire*, which asserts the rights of Henry IV., has a certain proof of authenti-

Such were the plans, or rather—for that word seems to imply something far too definite—such were the strange dreams, the castles in the air, which passed through the mind of Sixtus. How utterly inconsistent do they seem with that strenuous practical activity, always pressing onwards to its end, by which he was distinguished !

And yet, who will venture to assert that this was not frequently engendered by the exuberance of thoughts too vast for accomplishment ? The elevation of Rome to a regular metropolis of Christendom, to which, after the lapse of a certain number of years, the people of every country, even of America, were to resort ; the transformation of the monuments of antiquity into symbols and memorials of the overthrow of paganism by the Christian religion ; the accumulation of money obtained on loan and paying interest, into a fund on which the temporal power of the states of the church should repose ;—are all plans which appear to outstrip the bounds of the practicable, which have their origin in the ardour of a fancy inflamed by religion, yet which mainly stamped its character on the active life of this pope.

From youth upwards the condition and conduct of man are surrounded by hopes and wishes ; the present is, so to speak, encompassed by the future ; and the soul is never weary of abandoning herself to the anticipations of personal felicity. The further we advance in life, however, the more do these wishes

city, from the circumstance of its lying in obscurity amongst other papers. It is only surprising that nothing should have been said about it.

and expectations assume the form of views for the general interest, and attach themselves to some grand object in science or politics ;—to some great public end. In our Franciscan the excitement and impulse of personal hopes had ever been the more powerful, inasmuch as he found himself embarked on a course which opened to him the most splendid prospects ; they had accompanied him step by step, and had cheered and fortified his soul in days of indigence and obscurity ; he had eagerly caught up every prophetic word, and had treasured it in his inmost heart ; he had contemplated the success of his lofty schemes with the enthusiasm of a religious recluse. At length all his hopes were fulfilled ; he had risen from a mean and hopeless beginning, to the highest dignity of Christendom, —a dignity of the significance of which he entertained an exorbitant conception ; he believed himself chosen by an immediate providence to realize the ideas which floated before his imagination.

Nor, in the possession of supreme power, did the habit leave him of descrying through all the complexities of political affairs, any possibility of brilliant achievements, and of forming projects for their accomplishment. In all of these an element of a very personal nature is indeed discoverable ; he was sensible to the charms of power and posthumous fame ; he wished to shed his own lustre over all connected with him,—his family, his birth-place, his province ; yet these desires were always subordinate to an interest in the whole of catholic Christendom ;



and his mind was ever open to large and magnificent ideas. But the former he could carry through himself, while he was compelled for the most part to abandon the execution of the latter to others. The former therefore he embraced with that indefatigable activity which is the offspring of conviction, enthusiasm and ambition ; whereas in the latter, either because he was by nature mistrustful, or because the most prominent part of the execution (and thence of the fame) must be conceded to others, he was not nearly so zealous. If, for example, we inquire what he really did for the accomplishment of the oriental schemes we have mentioned, we perceive that it did not go beyond the forming alliances, interchanging letters, disseminating notices, and making arrangements : that he adopted any serious measures calculated to effect the contemplated end, we do not find. He caught at the plan with lively and excitable fancy ; but as he could not directly co-operate in it,—as its accomplishment was remote,—his will was not really effective ; the scheme which had occupied him so much, he let drop again, and another succeeded in its place.

At the moment we are now contemplating, the pope was filled with the grandest anticipations connected with the enterprises against Henry IV. ;—anticipations of a complete victory of strict catholicism, and of a revival of the universal supremacy of the papacy. In these he was wholly absorbed. Nor did he doubt that all the catholic states would agree to turn their united energy and force against

the protestant who laid claim to the crown of France.

Such was the temper of his mind, such the ardour of his zeal, when he learned that Venice, a catholic power with which he thought himself on a peculiarly good footing, had sent its congratulations to this very protestant. He was deeply mortified at the intelligence. He sought to restrain the republic for a moment from taking any further step ; he begged for delay ; time, he said, brought forth wondrous fruits ; he himself had learned from the good and venerable senators, to allow them to come to maturity\*. But, notwithstanding all his entreaties, Venice recognised De Maisse, (the ambassador who had for some time been resident there in that capacity,) after he received his new credentials, as the plenipotentiary of Henry IV. Upon this the pope proceeded from remonstrances to threats. He exclaimed that he would ascertain what he ought to do ; he caused the old monitoria which were published against the Venetians in the time of Julius II., to be searched out, and the formula of a new one to be drawn up.

Nevertheless it was not without pain and inward struggles that he took this step. Let us hear for a minute how he expressed himself to the ambassador whom the Venetians sent to him. "To fall out with those one does not love," said the pope, "is no such great misfortune ; but with those one loves

\* 9 Sett. 1589 : " Che per amor di Dio non si vada tanto avanti con questo Navarra, che si stia a veder," &c.

—that is indeed painful. Yes, it will grieve us (laying his hand on his breast) to break with Venice.

“ But Venice has offended us. Navarre is a heretic excommunicated by the holy see ; nevertheless Venice, spite of all our remonstrances, has acknowledged him.

“ Is the signory then the greatest sovereign on earth, entitled to set an example to others ? There is still a king of Spain,—there is still an emperor.

“ Does the republic fear anything from Navarre ? We will defend her, if needful, with all our might ; we have nerve enough.

“ Or does the republic meditate any attempt to injure us ? God himself would be our defender.

“ The republic ought to value our friendship more highly than that of Navarre. We could do more for its support.

“ I entreat you recall one step ! The catholic king has withdrawn many, because we wished it ; not out of fear of us, for our power is, as compared to his, like a fly compared to an elephant ; but from love ; because it was the pope who asked it, the vicerent of Christ, who prescribes the rules of faith to him and to all others. Let the signory do likewise ; they can hit upon some pretext for retracting ; it cannot be hard to them, for they have wise and venerable men enow, every one of whom is competent to govern a world\*.”

\* Dispaccio Donato, 25 Nov<sup>bre</sup> 1589. The pope made so long a speech that the ambassadors said, if they had written all down, it would take several hours to read in the senate. Amongst other

But no one continues to speak without receiving an answer. The envoy extraordinary of the Venetians was Leonardo Donato, a member of the society of Andrea Morosini which we have mentioned; completely devoted to the spirit of the ecclesiastico-political opposition; a man of what we should now call the greatest diplomatic address, who had already conducted many difficult negotiations to a successful close.

Donato could not explain in Rome all the motives which actuated the Venetians; he brought forward those which were likely to find acceptance with the pope,—which the ruler of the ecclesiastical states had in fact in common with Venice.

For was it not obvious that the ascendancy of Spain in the south of Europe yearly became more powerful and more dangerous? The pope felt this as strongly as any other of the Italian princes; already indeed things were come to such a pass that he could not take a step in Italy without the approbation of the Spaniards. What then would be the case if they should become masters of France? This, therefore,—the expediency of maintaining the balance of power in Europe,—was the consideration

things, he frequently insists on the effects of excommunication, and threatens them with it. “Tre sono stati scomunicati, il re passato, il principe di Condé, il re di Navarra. Due sono malamente morti, il terzo ci travaglia e Dio per nostro esercitio lo mantiene; ma finirà anche esso e terminerà male: dubitiamo punto di lui. —2 Dec. Il papa publica un solennissimo giubileo per invitar ogn’ uno a dover pregar S. Divina M<sup>a</sup> per la quiete et augumento della fede cattolica.” During this jubilee he would see no one, “per viver a se stesso et a sue divotioni.”

upon which Donato mainly insisted. He sought to prove that not only the Republic had entertained no thought of offending the pope, but that its intention was to promote and defend the best interests of the Roman see.

The pope listened to him, but appeared immovable and unconvinced. Donato despaired of producing any effect upon him, and requested an audience of leave. On the 16th of Dec., 1589, he obtained it, and the pope appeared disposed to refuse him his blessing\*. But Sixtus V. was not so blinded by prejudice, that arguments of real weight, though opposed to his own opinions, did not make an impression upon him. He was self-willed, domineering, opinionated, stubborn; yet he was not inaccessible to inward doubts, or to new views of things, and at bottom was good-natured. Even while he kept up the contest and obstinately defended his principles, he felt himself, in his heart, shaken and even convinced. In the midst of this audience he suddenly became mild and complying†. “He who has a comrade,” exclaimed he, “has a master; I will speak to the congregation; I will tell them that I was angry with you, but that I have been conquered by you.” They waited a few days longer; the pope then declared that though he could not approve what the Republic had done, nevertheless he

\* Disp. Donato, 16 Dec.: “Dopo sì lungo negotio restando quasi privi d’ ogni speranza.”

† Ibid. “Finalmente ispirata dal S<sup>r</sup> Dio . . . disse di contentarsene (to give them his blessing) e di essersi lasciato vincer da noi.”

would not adopt the measures against her which he had had in contemplation. He gave Donato his blessing and kissed him.

This was a scarcely perceptible change in the dispositions and thoughts of an individual, yet it involved the most important results. The pope himself abated of the severity with which he had persecuted the protestant king; nor would he absolutely condemn the catholic party which attached itself to Henry and opposed the policy he himself had hitherto adopted. A first step is of vast importance as determining a whole course of opinion and conduct. This was felt in a moment by the other party, which originally had only sought to excuse its own conduct, but now made an immediate attempt to win over the pope to its side.

Monsieur de Luxemburg now appeared in Italy, commissioned by the princes of the blood and the catholic peers attached to Henry IV. In defiance of the warnings and representations of the Spaniards, Sixtus V. allowed him to come to Rome and gave him audience. The envoy placed the personal qualities of Henry IV., his valour, his magnanimity and kindness of heart, in the most brilliant light. The pope was carried away by his description. "Truly," exclaimed he, "I repent that I have excommunicated him." Luxemburg said that his king and master would now render himself deserving of absolution, and would return to the feet of his holiness, and to the bosom of the catholic church.

“ In that case,” rejoined the pope, “ I will embrace and console him.”

His imagination was already strongly excited, and in an instant these advances on Henry’s part gave birth to the most sanguine hopes. He gave it to be understood that it was rather a political aversion to Spain, than religious opinions hostile to the see of Rome, which deterred the protestants from returning to the bosom of the ancient church, and that he did not think himself justified in doing anything to disgust them\*. There was already an English delegate in Rome, and one from Saxony was announced. Sixtus was quite ready to listen to them. “ Would to God,” said he, “ that they would all come to our feet !” His behaviour to his legate in France, cardinal Morosini, was a sufficient proof of the greatness of the change his own sentiments had undergone. Formerly Morosini’s concessions to Henry III. had been treated as a crime, and he had returned to Italy under all the weight of the pope’s displeasure ; now he was introduced into the consistory by cardinal Montalto, and the pope

\* Dispaccio Donato, 13 Genn. 1590. “ Il papa biasima l’ opinione de’ cardinali e d’ altri prelati che lo stimolano a dover licentiar esso S<sup>r</sup> de Lucenburg, e li accusa che vogliano farsi suo pedante (his prompter, as we should say,) in quello che ha studiato tutto il tempo della vita sua. Soggiunse che haveria caro che la regina d’ Inghilterra, il duca di Sassonia e tutti gli altri andassero a suoi piedi con bona dispositione. Che dispiacerà a S. S<sup>a</sup> che andassero ad altri principi, (catholics, of course,) et havessero communicatione con loro, ma si consolava quando vadino a suoi piedi a dimandar perdono.” He repeats these sentiments under a different form at every audience.

received him with the declaration, that he rejoiced that a cardinal of his choice had obtained such universal approbation\*. He was led out to table by Donna Camilla.

How great must have been the astonishment of the high catholic party at this change! The pope leaned to a protestant whom he had himself excommunicated, and whom, according to the ancient maxims of the church, a double apostasy had rendered incapable even of receiving absolution!

It is in the nature of things that this should occasion a reaction. The strict catholic party was not so absolutely dependent on the pope, that it could not set itself in opposition to him; and the Spanish power afforded them a prop to which they eagerly clung.

The French leaguers accused the pope of avarice; they said that he would not open his purse-strings, and that he wanted to save all the gold which he had accumulated in the castle of St. Angelo, for his nephews and kinsfolk. In Spain a jesuit preached on the deplorable condition of the church. “Not only does the republic of Venice favour the heretics, but,—hush! hush!” said he, laying his finger on his lips,—“but the pope himself.” All this was re-echoed in Italy. Sixtus V. was already become so sensitive, that he took an admonition to a day of public humiliation which the ge-

\* Dispaccio, 3 Marzo. “Dice di consolarsi assai ch’egli soa creatura fusse di tutti tanto celebrato. Il cl<sup>mo</sup> Morosini acquista molto honore e riputatione per la soa relatione delle cose di Francia.”



neral of the capuchins had published, “in order to invoke the grace of God on the affairs of the church,” as a personal affront, and suspended the general.

Things did not, however, stop at mere hints, or private and unauthorized complaints. On the 22nd of March, 1590, the Spanish envoy appeared in the papal apartments and formally protested in his master's name against the conduct of the pope\*. We perceive that there were opinions more orthodox, more catholic, than the head of the church himself; to these opinions the Spanish envoy gave utterance and expression in the very face of the pope. Strange proceeding! The envoy knelt down on one knee and prayed his holiness to permit him to execute the commands of his master. The pope sought to raise him up. He said it was heresy to behave as he meditated doing to the vicerent of Christ. The envoy would not be deterred from his purpose. “His holiness,” he began, “was entreated to utter sentence of excommunication against all the adherents of Navarre without distinction—to declare that Navarre himself was, in every case and for all time, incapable of succeed-

\* As early as the 10th of March the ambassador had proposed the following questions to the pope: “Li ha ricercato la risposta sopra le tre cose, cioè di licentiar Lucenburg, iscommunicar li c<sup>li</sup> et altri prelati che seguono il Navarra, e prometter di non habilitar mai esso Navarra alla successione della corona;”—and had announced a protest against him. On this the pope threatened excommunication: “Minaccia di iscommunicar quei e castigarli nella vita che ardiranno di tentar quanto egli li havea detto, cacciandolo inanzi e serrandogli in faccia la porta.”

ing to the throne of France. If not, the catholic king would throw off his allegiance to his holiness ; his majesty could not suffer that the cause of Christ should be sacrificed \*.” The pope hardly allowed him to proceed thus far in his speech ; he exclaimed that this was not the king’s business. The ambassador rose, then knelt down again, then attempted to proceed. The pope called him a stone of offence, and went away. But Olivarez was not yet satisfied ; he declared that he would and must utter his protest to the end, even though the pope were to cut off his head for it. He knew well, he said, that the king would avenge him, and would requite his fidelity to his children. On the other hand, Sixtus V. was inflamed with rage. He declared that no prince on earth was authorized to school the pope, who was set by God as master over all others ; whereas the behaviour of the envoy had been utterly at variance with decency ; that his instructions only warranted him in making a protest, in case the pope should show himself lukewarm in the affairs of the League. How ! did the envoy want to direct the steps of his holiness ?

Genuine catholicism seemed to have only one aim, one undivided thought ; it seemed in the road to victory and on the point of success, when unex-

\* “ Che S. S<sup>a</sup> dichiari iscommunicati tutti quei che seguitano in Francia il Navarra e tutti gli altri che quovis modo li dessero ajuto, e che dichiari esso Navarra incapace perpetuamente alla corona di Francia : altramente che il re suo si leverà dalla obediienza della chiesa, e procurerà che non sia fatta ingiuria alla causa di Christo e che la pietà e la religione soa sia conosciuta.”

pectedly two parties, two opinions, formed themselves within its bosom, opposed both politically and religiously; the one organized for attack, the other for resistance. They began their struggle by labouring, each with all its might, to win over the head of the church to itself. The one had already possession of the pope, and strove to hold him fast by means of bitterness, of threats, almost of force. Moved by his secret feelings, he had inclined to the other on one important occasion, and it now sought to gain him over completely; to seduce him by promises, to allure him with the most brilliant visions of the future. It was of the highest importance to the result of their struggle, which side he embraced.

The demeanor of this pope, so renowned for his energy and determination, fills us with amazement.

When letters from Philip II. arrived, in which that king declared that he would defend the just cause; that he would support the League with all the forces of his kingdom and with his own blood, the pope was filled with zeal, and declared that he would never bring on himself the reproach of not having opposed a heretic like Navarre\*.

Yet these protestations did not prevent his inclining again to the other side. When the difficulties

\* He declares even in the consistory, "di haver scritto al re con sua propria mano, che procurerà sempre con tutte le sue forze spirituali e temporali che mai riesca re di Francia alcuno che non sia di compita sodisfattione alla S. Cat<sup>ca</sup> M<sup>a</sup>." In January, 1590, the ambassadors already said, "Il papa nelle trattationi parla con uno ad un modo con suoi disegni et ad un altro con altri (disegni)."

in which French affairs were involved, were represented to him, he exclaimed, “ If Navarre were here, I would beseech him on my knees to become a catholic.”

Never did sovereign stand in a more extraordinary relation to his plenipotentiary, than pope Sixtus to the legate Gaetano, whom he had sent to France in the time of his intimate alliance with Spain. The pope was now not indeed gone over to the side of the French, but was brought into a neutral, irresolute state of mind. The legate followed his original instructions, without paying the slightest regard to this change. When Henry IV., after the victory of Ivry, besieged Paris, it was the pope’s legate who made the most effective resistance to him : it was in his hands that committees and magistrates swore never to capitulate with Navarre; and it was by his dignity as a minister of the church, and by a demeanor equally marked by address and by firmness, that he held them to their promises\*.

In the end, the inflexibly orthodox opinions displayed the greatest strength.

Olivarez compelled the pope to dismiss Luxemburg, though indeed under the appearance of a pilgrimage to Loreto. The pope had fixed upon monsignore Serafino, who was reputed to hold French opinions, for a mission to France. Olivarez loudly complained of this appointment, and declared that he would come no more to the audience ; the

\* Discours véritable et notable du siège de la ville de Paris en l’an 1590. Villeroy, Mémoires d’Etat, tom. ii. p. 417.

pope replied that he might depart in God's name ; nevertheless, in the end Olivarez prevailed, and Serafino's mission was put off. There lies an incredible power in an orthodox faith, held with inflexible steadiness ; especially when its champion is an able and energetic man. Olivarez had the congregation, which was occupied with French affairs and which had been formed in earlier times, on his side. In July 1590, negotiations were set on foot for a new treaty between Spain and the pope ; Sixtus declared he must do something in favour of that kingdom\*.

Let it not however be imagined that he had given up the other party. At this very time he had an agent of one of the leaders of the huguenots, Lesdiguières, near his person ; there were also a chargé d'affaires of the Landgrave, an emissary from England, and already the imperial ambassador was in dread of the suggestions of the Saxon ambassador, who was again expected, and was striving to anticipate and prevent their effect ; the manœuvres of chancellor Crell extended even to Rome†.

\* The king was to send into the field 20,000 foot and 3000 horse ; the pope 15,000 foot and 2000 horse. " Li ambasciatori sollicitano con li cardinali la conclusione e sottoscrizione del capitolato." (Disp. 14 Luglio.) The pope proposed the question in the congregation : " An electio regis Franciæ vacante principe ex corpore sanguinis spectet ad pontificem ? Esortato a star neutrale, laudando il consiglio risponde non poter restar a far qualche cosa." (Disp. 28 Luglio.) In the Disp. 21 Luglio it is however recorded, " Laodigeres haveva mandato un suo huomo a trattar con S. S<sup>a</sup>, il quale ha trattato lungamente seco."

† We cannot otherwise account for the warning given by the imperial ambassador to the pope not to listen to Saxon insinuations. " L' ambasciatore dell' imperatore prega il pontefice

Thus did the puissant ecclesiastical prince, who lived in the persuasion that a direct power over all the earth was entrusted to him,—who had accumulated a treasure which would have enabled him to strike an important blow,—remain at the decisive moment irresolute and vacillating.

Ought we to impute this to him as a fault? I fear we should do him injustice. He saw through the situation of things; he perceived the dangers on both sides; he listened to conflicting opinions, and no crisis forcing him to take a final decision presented itself. The elements which divided the world warred even in his soul, and neither obtained a conclusive mastery.

Certainly however, by this course, he put it completely out of his own power to subdue Europe, or to exercise any mighty influence over it. On the contrary, the causes which then agitated society reacted upon him; and this reaction assumed the most extraordinary form.

Sixtus had subjugated the banditti, chiefly by maintaining a good understanding with his neighbours. But as this was now interrupted; as Venice and Tuscany now held different opinions from those which prevailed in Naples and Milan; as the pope decided for neither, and was therefore alternately an object of suspicion to both, the banditti once more rose into activity.

In April 1590, they appeared again, led, in the

*di non voler ascoltare quel huomo che vien detto esser mandato dal duca di Sassonia, in quello che fusse di pregiudizio del suo patron e della casa d'Austria: e così li vien promesso."*

Maremma by Sacripante, in Romagna by Piccolomini, and in the Campagna of Rome by Battistella. They were abundantly provided with money, and it was observed that they spent a great many Spanish doubloons ; they found adherents chiefly in the Guelf party ; they already marched about the country in regular bands, with colours flying and drums beating, and the papal troops had no mind to engage them\*. This state of things affected all the relations of the country ; the Bolognese, for instance, opposed the pope's project of increasing the number of the senators of the city, with an audacity and freedom which had long been unheard of.

In this situation,—a prey to such near and pressing discontent,—without having so much as attempted to come to a decision, or to form a resolution on the weightiest matter,—pope Sixtus V. died, on the 27th August, 1590.

A storm burst over the Quirinal just as he expired. The stupid multitude were convinced that Fra Felice had made a compact with the evil one, had ascended from step to step by his aid, and that, the term of the agreement having expired, his soul was now carried off in a tempest.

This was their mode of expressing their displeasure at the number of new taxes he had introduced, and their doubt of his perfect orthodoxy ;—a doubt so frequently agitated of late years. They proceeded in tumultuous fury to tear down the statues which

\* Disp. 21 Luglio : “ I fuorusciti corrono fino su le porte di Roma.” The despatches of the 17th March, 7th and 28th April, 12th May, and 2nd June contain details on this subject.

they had formerly erected to him, and a resolution was passed in the capitol that no statue should ever again be erected to a living pope.

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§ 4. URBAN VII., GREGORY XIV., INNOCENT IX., AND  
THEIR CONCLAVES. 1590, 1591.

The new election was now doubly momentous. It depended mainly on the personal inclinations of a pope, for which of the two principles already engaged in conflict he would declare himself; and his decision might undoubtedly lead to consequences affecting the state of the whole world. The intrigues and the strife of the conclave thus acquire a new and peculiar importance, and for a short time demand our attention.

In the earlier half of the sixteenth century, the electors were generally determined by the preponderancy of the Imperial or the French faction; the cardinals had, as a pope asserted, no longer any freedom of election. In the latter part of the century this influence of foreign powers was greatly diminished, and the curia was left much more to its own decisions. In the ferment of its intestine agitations, a principle was generated which gave rise to a custom of a most singular kind.

Every pope used to nominate a number of cardinals, who in the next conclave attached themselves to the kinsmen of the deceased pope, con-



stituted a new power, and generally tried to raise one of their own number to the papal throne. It is very remarkable that they never succeeded ; that the opposition was invariably victorious, and generally elected an adversary of the late pope.

I shall not attempt to explain this fact at length. We are in possession of documents relating to these elections, which are not wholly unworthy of credit ; but it would be impossible to give a vivid or correct view of the personal relations and motives which really influenced them ; our delineations would be mere shadows.

Let it suffice that we note the principle. Without an exception, during the period in question, it was not the adherents, but the opponents of the last pope,—the creatures, that is, of the last but one,—who were victorious. Paul IV. was raised to the papacy by the creatures of Paul III. ; Pius IV. by the enemies of Caraffa and of Paul IV. The nephew of Pius IV., Borromeo, was capable of the highest self-sacrifice, and voluntarily gave his vote to a man of the opposite party, whom he esteemed the most truly devout,—Pius V. ; but he did this amidst the vehement remonstrances of his uncle's creatures, who, as the report expresses it, could hardly believe that they saw what they saw, or did what they did. Nor did they neglect on the next opportunity to turn this concession to account. They endeavoured to cause this custom to be acknowledged as a rule ; and in fact they chose the successor of Pius V. out of the creatures of Pius IV. The same took place at the election of Sixtus V.,

who was elevated from among the adversaries of his predecessor, Gregory.

It is therefore no wonder if we always find men of opposite character succeeding each other in the possession of the tiara. The different factions drove each other successively from the field.

At the moment we are treating of, this usage opened a brilliant prospect to the opponent of Sixtus V. ; especially of the last turn of his policy. Sixtus V. had made his nephew extremely powerful, and he now entered the conclave, attended by a band of devoted cardinals, as numerous as any that had ever been bound together by a common interest and common feelings. But in spite of all these apparent advantages, he was obliged to give way. The creatures of Gregory raised to the papal chair an enemy of the former pope, one who had been peculiarly offended by him, a man of unquestionable attachment to the Spanish party,—Giambattista Castagna, who assumed the name of Urban VII.\*

This choice was, however, unfortunate. Urban VII. died on the twelfth day of his pontificate, before he was crowned, before he had nominated a single prelate, and the contest immediately opened afresh.

\* Conclave di papa Urbano VII. MS. “ La pratica (di questa elettione) fu guidata dal card<sup>l</sup> Sforza (capo delle creature di papa Gregorio XIII.) e da cardinali Genovesi.” In a despatch from Maise, the French ambassador at Venice, F. Raumer’s *Histor. Briefen*, i. 360, it is stated that Sforza dragged Colonna from the papal chair, on which he had already placed himself; but we can hardly understand this literally.

It differed from the former, inasmuch as the Spaniards now took the most active part in it. They saw distinctly how important the event was to the affairs of France. The king resolved on a step which was regarded in Rome as a dangerous innovation, and which even his partisans could only justify on the plea of the urgency of the circumstances wherein he was then placed\*. He nominated seven cardinals who appeared likely to be serviceable to him ; he would accept no others. At the head of his nominees stood the name of Madruzzi, and with him, as their leader, the Spanish cardinals immediately made an effort to carry their point.

But they encountered a stubborn resistance. The conclave would not have Madruzzi because he was a German ; because it would be a shame again to suffer the papacy to fall into the hands of a barbarian† ; nor would Montalto consent to the election of any of the others. Montalto had indeed tried in vain to secure it for one of his followers ; but he had at least the negative power of excluding. The conclave was protracted to an undue and unprecedented length ; the banditti were masters of the country, there were daily reports of property plundered and villages burned, and there were fears of disturbances in Rome itself.

\* Il grande interesse del re cattolico e la spesa nella quale si trova senza ajuto nissuno per servitio della Christianità fa che gli si debbia condonare.

† C<sup>1</sup> Morosini said, “ Italia anderebbe in preda a’ barbari, che farebbe una vergogna.” Concl. della sede vacante di Urbano VII.

There was only one means of bringing things to the desired end ;—to pick out the one from among the candidates who was the least disagreeable to the kinsmen and followers of Sixtus V. In the *Florentine Memoirs*\* it is stated that the grand-duke of Tuscany ; in the Roman, that cardinal Sforza, the head of the Gregorian cardinals, principally contributed to bring this about. Secluded in his cell (perhaps for the very reason that he had been told that his interests would be best advanced by silence), and suffering from fever, lived cardinal Sfondrato, one of the Seven. Upon him the parties agreed, and a family alliance between the house of Sfondrato and Montalto was immediately discussed as a preliminary measure. Thereupon Montalto visited the cardinal in his cell ; he found him on his knees before the crucifix, still not wholly free from fever, and told him that on the morrow he should be elected. On the morrow (5th Dec. 1590), he and Sforza led him into the chapel where the votes were given. Sfondrato was elected, and took the name of Gregory XIV.†

He was a man who fasted twice a week, said mass daily, always recited the prescribed number of prayers on his knees, and then devoted an hour to his favourite author, St. Bernard, out of whom he carefully noted the sentences which particularly struck him ;—a soul of virgin innocence. It was remarked half jestingly, that he had come into the

\* Galluzzi, *Storia del Granducato di Toscana*, v. 99.

† T. Tasso celebrated this elevation to the throne in a magnificent canzone, “ Da gran lode immortal.”

which was early at seven months, and was reared with difficulty. And that he had therefore too little of earthly elements in his composition. He had never been able to understand the practice or the intrigues of the curia. The cause which the Spaniards defended, he implicitly held to be the cause of the church. He was a born subject of Philip II. and a man after his own heart. Without hesitation or delay, he declared himself in favour of the League\*.

“Do you,” he writes to the Parisians, “who have made so laudable a beginning, persevere to the end, and stay not until you have reached the goal of your course. Inspired by God, we have determined to come to your aid. First, we send you assistance in money, and truly beyond our means. We likewise despatch our nuncio, Landriano, to France, in order to bring back all deserters into your union. Lastly, we send, though not without a heavy burthen on the church, our dear son and nephew, Ercole Sfondrato, duke of Montemarciano, with horse and foot, to employ their arms in your defence. Should you stand in need of yet more, we will also provide you with it†.”

This letter contains the entire policy of Gregory XIV. It was, however, very effective. The declaration itself, the repetition of the excommunica-

\* *Cicarella de Vita Gregorii XIV.*, contained in all the later editions of Platina.

† “Gregoire pape XIV. à mes fils bien aymés les gens du conseil des seize quartiers de la ville de Paris.” Cayet, *Chronologie novenaire, Mémoires coll. univ.*, tom. lvii. p. 62.

tion of Henry IV., which was connected with it, and lastly the citation to all the clergy, the nobles, the judicial officers, and the third estate, to sever themselves, under pain of severe penalties, from Henry of Bourbon, of which Landriano was the bearer, produced a deep impression\*. There were many strict catholics on the side of Henry IV., who were perplexed by this decisive step of the head of their church. They declared that not only the kingdom, but the church, had a succession, and that it was as unlawful to change the religion as the dynasty. From this time may be dated the formation, among the king's adherents, of what was called the third party, which incessantly urged him to return to catholicism; which remained true to him only under this condition and with this expectation, and was the more important, inasmuch as the most powerful men who immediately surrounded him were among its members.

But the other measures which the pope announced in this letter, and which he delayed not to carry into execution, produced still greater consequences. He remitted to the Parisians a monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi; he sent colonel Lusi into Switzerland to levy troops; and after having solemnly committed the standard of the church to his nephew, Ercole, in Santa Maria Maggiore, as

\* Cayet observes this. "Le party du roy estoit sans aucune division. Ce qui fut entretenu jusques au temps de la publication des bulles monitoriales du pape Gregoire XIV., que d'aucuns volurent engendrer un tiers party et le former des catholiques, qui étoit dans le party royal."

their general, he sent him to Milan, where his army was to assemble. The commissary who accompanied him, archbishop Matteuci, was abundantly provided with money.

Under such auspices, Philip II. hesitated no longer to engage earnestly in French affairs. His troops advanced into Brittany, and took possession of Toulouse and Montpellier. He thought he had peculiar claims on some provinces ; in others he had formed, by means of capuchin friars, an intimate alliance with the leading commanders ; to others he had received the most urgent invitation as “ the sole defender of the orthodox against the huguenots.” The Parisians too invited him. Meanwhile the Piedmontese attacked Provence, and the papal army joined that of the League in Verdun. It was an universal movement of the powers of Spain and Italy, for the purpose of dragging France by force into the same high catholic direction which prevailed in those countries. The treasures which pope Sixtus had collected with so much labour, and husbanded with so much care, were now of great assistance to the Spaniards. After Gregory XIV. had taken out of the castle of St. Angelo the funds to the employment of which no conditions were attached, he seized upon those which were most strictly tied up. He was of opinion that a more pressing necessity could never assail the church.

Considering the decision with which these measures were undertaken, the prudence of the king, the wealth of the pope, and the influence which

their united dignity and station had upon France, it can hardly be calculated what might have been the results which this twofold politico-religious ambition might have produced, had not Gregory XIV. died in the midst of his enterprises. He had sat on the papal throne only ten months and ten days, and had produced such vast alterations,—what might he not have effected if he had retained this power for some years? It was the greatest loss which the League and the Spaniards could sustain.

The Spaniards, it is true, once more ruled the conclave. They had again nominated seven candidates\*, and one of these, Giovan-Antonio Fachinnetto,—Innocent IX.—was elected. He too was, so far as could be judged, inclined to the Spanish cause; at least he sent money to the League; and the manuscript document is extant in which he urges Alessandro Farnese to hasten his armament, to advance into France, and invest Rouen, which that general executed with so much skill and success†. But the misfortune was, that Innocent IX., like his predecessors, was old and feeble; he scarcely

\* In the *Histoire des Conclaves*, i. 251, we read, “*Les Espagnols vouloient retablir leur reputation.*” This, however, is a mistranslation. In the MS. which is the foundation of this book, *Conclave di Innocenzio IX.* (Inff. Politt.) we find, “*per non perder la racquistata autorità,*” which corresponds to the actual state of affairs.

† According to Davila, *Historia delle Guerre civili di Francia* XII., p. 763, Innocent does not appear to have been so entirely in favour of the League; but the above-mentioned letter (given in Cayet, p. 356,) removes all doubts.



ever left his bed, and even gave audience there; from the dying couch of an old man who had lost all power of moving, went forth exhortations to war, which set France, nay Europe, in agitation. Scarcely had Innocent possessed the papal see two months, when he too died.

And thus were the election struggles of the conclave a fourth time renewed: they were now the more important, since these incessant changes had strongly impressed the conviction that what was wanted above all, was a vigorous man, who gave promise of long life. The decision which was taken now, would therefore be definitive and lasting. This conclave was an important point in the history of the world.

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#### § 5. ELECTION AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII.

Amidst the prosperous advancement of their interests at Rome during the latter years, the Spaniards had at length succeeded in gaining over Montalto. His family had bought land in the Neapolitan territory. Whilst Montalto promised no longer to resist the king's will, the king promised him in return not absolutely to exclude all the creatures of Sixtus V. A sort of compact was thus made between them, and the Spaniards delayed no longer to bring about the election of the man from whom they might anticipate the most active co-operation in the French war.

Of all the cardinals, Santorio, who had the title of San Severina, might be regarded as the most zealous catholic. Even in his youth he had fought out many a battle with the protestants at Naples; in his autobiography, which is extant in MS., he designates the massacre of St. Bartholomew as “the celebrated day of St. Bartholomew, most joyful to the catholics\* ;” he had always professed the most violent opinions; he was the leading member in the congregation for French affairs, and had long been the soul of the inquisition; he was still in the prime of life and in good health.

This was the man whom the Spaniards wished to invest with the highest spiritual dignity; one more devoted to their cause it would have been impossible to find. Olivarez too had prepared everything†, nor did there seem a doubt remaining; out of fifty-two votes, thirty-six were favourable,—just sufficient to decide the election, for which two-thirds are always necessary. Accordingly, the morning after the close of the conclave, the cardinals proceeded to the formal act of election. Montalto and Madruzzi, the leaders of the united factions, fetched Sanseverina from his cell, which, according to custom, was immediately stripped by the servants; thirty-six cardinals attended him to

\* He speaks of the “giusto sdegno del re Carlo IX. di gloriosa memoria in quel celebre giorno di S. Bartolommeo lietissimo a’ cattolici.”

† Conclave di Clemente VIII.: MS. “Il conte di Olivarez, fedele et inseparabile amico di S. Severina, aveva prima di partire di Roma per il governo di Sicilia tutto preordinato.”

the Paoline chapel; already he was entreated to pardon his enemies, and had declared that he would forgive all, and as the first mark of his placable disposition, would assume the name of Clement. Kingdoms and peoples were then recommended to his care and protection.

Meanwhile one circumstance had been lost sight of. Sanseverina was esteemed so austere that everybody feared him.

Hence it happened that many had resisted all attempts to win them over to his cause; young cardinals, and old personal antagonists, assembled in the Sistine chapel; when all collected, they were, it is true, only sixteen in number; and as they wanted one more vote to give them the power of exclusion, many showed a disposition to submit to what seemed inevitable, and to acknowledge Sanseverina; the experienced Altemps had, however, sufficient influence on them to induce them still to make a stand. They had more confidence in his judgement than in their own.

And in fact the same antipathy by which they were actuated, had its effect on those who had given their word to Sanseverina, very many of whom rejected him in their hearts. They had conformed to the wishes of the king and of Montalto, but they only waited an opportunity to desert. At the entrance into the chapel used for the elections, there was a disturbance, an agitation, wholly unwonted in similar cases, when the choice was already decided. The tellers began to count the votes, but seemed reluctant to finish; even Sanseverina's own

fellow-countrymen threw obstacles in the way\*. There wanted only a man who would break ground ; who would give utterance to the thoughts which so many entertained. At length Ascanio Colonna took courage to do this. He belonged to the Roman barons, who beyond all other men feared the inquisitorial severity of Sanseverina. He exclaimed, " I see that God will not have Sanseverina, neither will Ascanio Colonna." So saying he quitted the Paoline chapel, and joined the opposition in the Sistine.

This accession gave them the majority. A secret scrutiny was granted. There were some who would never have dared openly to retract the votes they had promised, but who did so as soon as they knew that their names would remain concealed. When the lists were opened, there were found only thirty votes for the nominee.

Sanseverina had come in the certainty of his election ; he imagined himself already in possession of that fulness of spiritual power which he estimated so highly, and had so often defended ; he had passed seven hours between the fulfilment of his loftiest desires and the prospect of an ever-enduring feeling of humiliation and abasement,—between sovereignty and subjection,—as if between life and death : at length his fate was decided ; despoiled of his hopes, he went back to his dismantled cell. " The next night," says he in his autobiography, " was more

\* Besides the account of this matter in printed and MS. Conclaves, we have S. Severina's own narrative, which I shall insert in the Appendix.

painful to me than any moment I ever endured. The heavy grief of my soul and my inward anguish forced from me—incredible to say—a bloody sweat.”

He knew the nature of a conclave too well to indulge in any further hope. On a subsequent occasion his friends put him forward again, but without a chance of success.

His rejection was a loss too to the Spaniards. The king had named five cardinals, and had not been able to carry the election of one of them. It was now necessary to proceed to the sixth, who had been designated as supernumerary by the Spaniards.

The king, rather to please his ally Montalto, than of his own motion, had also named cardinal Aldobrandino, a creature of Sixtus V., whom he himself had rejected a year before. To him they now recurred, as the only one whose election was possible. He was, as we have intimated, agreeable to Montalto; the Spaniards could say nothing against him, as he had been put in nomination among themselves; nor was he unwelcome to the others, being rather generally beloved. He was therefore elected with little opposition on the 20th January, 1592. He took the name of Clement VIII.

The result of this compromise to the Spaniards is curious enough. They had gained over Montalto to their side, for the purpose of bringing in one of themselves; and now it was precisely this alliance which compelled them to lend their aid to place a

friend of Montalto, a creature of Sixtus V., on the throne.

We may remark, that from this moment an alteration in the course of papal elections took place, which may be regarded as not unimportant. For a long time men of opposite factions had invariably succeeded each other. The same had recently occurred; thrice had the creatures of Sixtus V. been forced to retire from the contest; the elected had, however, enjoyed but a very transitory power, and had been unable to form any strong party; deaths, funerals, and new conclaves had followed each other in rapid succession. The first who once more ascended the papal chair in the full vigour of life, was Clement VIII.; and the consequence was, a government conducted by the same party and enjoying a long tenure of power.

The universal attention was now directed to the questions, who the new pontiff was, and what was to be expected from him.

Clement VIII. was born in exile. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandino, of a considerable family of Florence, but a violent and active enemy of the house of Medici, was driven into exile on the final success of that house in the year 1531, and had been compelled to seek his fortune in foreign parts\*.

\* Varchi, *Storia Fiorentina*, iii. 42. 61. Mazzuchelli, *Scrittori d' Italia*, i. i. p. 392, contains as usual a most elaborate and instructive article under his name; it is not however complete. Amongst other things, he omits to mention his proceedings at Venice, a fact with which Joh. Delfino begins his relation in a manner that leaves no doubt as to its truth: "Silvestro Aldo-

He was a doctor of law, and had formerly given lectures at Pisa; we next find him at Venice, where he took part in a reform of the Venetian statutes, and in an edition of the institutes; then in Ferrara or Urbino, in the council and tribunals of the duke; but longest in the service of some cardinal, and deputed in his place to conduct the administration of law or of government in one of the cities of the ecclesiastical states. But his chief distinction, perhaps, is, that in the midst of this unsettled life, he found means to educate five admirable sons. The eldest, Giovanni, who was called the steersman of the family, appears to have had the greatest talents; he led the way, and in the career of judicial dignities, rose in 1570 to the cardinalate; had his life been prolonged, it was thought that he might have aspired to the tiara. Bernardo was a distinguished armourer: Tommaso a good philologist; his translation of Diogenes Laertius has been frequently reprinted. Pietro was esteemed an eminent practical lawyer. The youngest, Ippolyto, born in the year 1536 at Fano\*, at first caused his father some anxiety; he feared that he should not be able to give him an education worthy of his talents. But cardinal Alessandro Farnese took the boy under his protection, and gave him a

brandini ne' tempi della ribellione di Firenze cacciato da quella città se ne venne qui, riformò li nostri statuti e rivedde le leggi et ordini della repubblica."

\* In the "Libro di battesimo della parochia cattedrale di Fano," is the following entry: "A dì 4 Marzo 1536 fu battezzato un putto di M<sup>r</sup> Salvestro, che fu luogotenente qui: hebbe nome Ippolyto."

yearly allowance out of the revenues of his bishopric of Spoleto ; after which the rising fortunes of his brothers naturally led to his advancement. He obtained first the prelacy, then his eldest brother's place in the court of the Rota ; lastly, Sixtus V. created him cardinal, and sent him as nuncio to Poland. Here he formed a sort of connexion with the house of Austria, every member of which felt as an obligation the successful efforts of the cardinal to free the archduke Maximilian from the captivity in which he was held by the Poles, and the discretion and address with which he had employed his authority for that purpose. When Philip II. determined to nominate one of the creatures of Sixtus V. as supernumerary candidate, this was his reason for preferring Aldobrandino. Thus did the son of a homeless fugitive, whose parents had once feared that he would have to pass his life in the drudgery of a clerk, rise to the highest dignity of catholic Christendom.

It is impossible to contemplate without pleasure the monument in the Chiesa della Minerva at Rome, which Salvestro Aldobrandino erected to the mother of so noble a band of sons ;—" to his dear wife Lisa, of the house of Deti, with whom he had lived for seven and thirty years in harmony."

The new pope brought to his office all that activity peculiar to a family which has struggled with difficulties. He held his sittings in the morning, and his audiences in the afternoon\* ; all reports

\* Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, i. p. 54, gives an account of his manner of passing a week.



were received and looked over ; all despatches read and discussed ; legal arguments were sought out, ancient precedents collated ; and not unfrequently the pope showed himself better informed than the refendaries who brought the matter before him ; he worked as assiduously as when he was auditor of the Rota ; nor did he devote less attention to the details of internal administration and to personal affairs, than to the politics of Europe, or the great interests of the church. People asked in what he took pleasure\*? In everything or nothing, was the reply.

Nor with all this attention to secular business, had he to reproach himself with the smallest neglect of his spiritual duties. He confessed every evening to Baronius ; every morning he celebrated mass himself ; at noon, at least during the first year of his pontificate, twelve poor men always dined with him, and the pleasures of the table were utterly unknown to him. On Fridays and Saturdays he fasted. If he had worked hard the whole week, his recreation on the Sunday was to send for some pious monks, or the fathers of the Vallicella, and converse with them on deep theological questions. He thus raised to an extraordinary pitch the repu-

\* *Relatione al card<sup>l</sup> d' Este, 1599. MS. Fosc.* According to this he carries on war like Julius II., he builds like Sixtus V., he reforms like Pius V., and withal seasons his conversation with wit. Then follows this description : “ *Di complession flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel moto tardo, nelle attioni circonspetto, nell' esecutioni cuntatore ; quando non risolve, premedita.—E tenace del secreto, cupo nei pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli al fine.*”

tation he had always enjoyed for virtue, piety, and exemplary life. He knew this, and he wished it. It was this reputation which enhanced his consideration as sovereign-pastor of the church.

In every particular this pope acted with enlightened prudence. He was fond of work ; his nature was one of those which borrows fresh vigour from toil ; but he did not pursue it with such ardour as to neglect to season labour with regular exercise\*. Thus too he could fly into a rage, and be violent and bitter ; yet when he saw that the object of his anger was mute before the majesty of the papacy, or perhaps expressed by his countenance dissent and displeasure, he recollected himself, and tried to atone for his irritation. He wished that nothing should be perceptible in him but what was becoming, and in harmony with the idea of a good, wise, and pious man†.

Preceding popes had thought themselves exalted above all law, and had sought to convert the administration of the highest of all offices into the means of gratifying selfish and sensual desires ;

\* Venier, *Relatione di Roma*, 1601. “ La gotta molto meno che per l’ inanzi li da molestia al presente per la sua bona regola di viver, nel quale da certo tempo in qua procede con grandissima riserva, e con notabile astinenza nel bere ; che le giova anco moltissimo a non dar fomento alla grassezza, alla quale è molto inclinata la sua complessione, usando anco per questo di frequentare l’ esercizio di caminar longamente sempre che senza sconcio de’ negozi conosce di poterlo fare, ai quali nondimeno per la sua gran capacità supplisce.”

† Delfino: “ Si va conoscendo certo che in tutte le cose si move S. S<sup>ua</sup> con gran zelo dell’ onor di Dio e con gran desiderio del ben publico.”

this the spirit of the times of which we are treating would no longer permit. Personal character or inclinations were now compelled to yield, and to conform ; the man was lost in the office ; nor could any one either obtain or administer that office, without a demeanor befitting the ideal of a head of the church.

It is obvious that this change enormously enhanced the strength of the papacy. Human institutions are strong only so long as their spirit animates the living possessors of the power which they create and confer.

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#### § 6. ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV.

Public curiosity was now universally excited as to the manner in which this pope, so full of talent, activity, and energy, and moreover of such blameless life, would treat the most momentous question of Europe,—the state of France.

Should he, like his immediate predecessors, attach himself unconditionally to Spain ? He was neither bound to this by any of the previous circumstances of his life, nor led to it by inclination. It did not escape him that the Spanish domination might become oppressive to the papacy, and more particularly injurious to its political independence.

Or should he take part with Henry IV. ? It is true, that king made demonstrations of an intention to become a catholic ; but promises of this kind

were more easily made than fulfilled ; he was still a protestant, and Clement VIII. probably feared to be deceived.

We saw how Sixtus vacillated between these two possibilities, and what evils and perplexities arose out of his indecision. The zealous party was still as strong as ever in Rome, and the new pope could not brave their enmity or their opposition. In the midst of the difficulties which thus pressed upon him from every side, he was cautious never to commit himself in words, nor to awaken slumbering animosities. It is only from his acts, his conduct, that we can gradually infer his inclinations and opinions.

When he came into power the papal see had a legate in France, who was generally regarded as a partisan of Spain, and an army destined to oppose Henry IV.; it also furnished subsidies to the League. These were circumstances in which the new pope could effect no change. Had he offered to stop his subsidies, to withdraw his army, or to recall his legate, he would have endangered his reputation for orthodoxy ; he would have exposed himself to more bitter animosities than pope Sixtus had experienced. But he was far from adding force or activity to the efforts already made in favour of the League ; he rather gradually availed himself of every favourable opportunity to moderate and restrain them.

But he very soon found himself called upon to take a step of a more unequivocal character. In the year 1592, Henry IV. had sent cardinal Gondi to Italy, with instructions to proceed to Rome. The

king daily leaned more and more to catholicism ; but it appears that his view was rather to become reconciled to the catholic church by means of a sort of treaty effected by the mediation of Tuscany and Venice, than by submission. And was not even such a reconciliation very desirable for the pope ? Was not the return of the king to the bosom of the church a great gain, in whatever way it might be brought about ? Nevertheless Clement deemed it necessary not to entertain the negotiation, nor to receive Gondi. The presence of Luxemburg, he remembered, had been productive of very unpleasant consequences to Sixtus V., without any profitable result. He accordingly sent a monk, Fra Franceschi, to Florence, where the cardinal had already arrived, to announce to him that he would not be received in Rome. The pope was well pleased that the cardinal, and even the grand-duke, complained ; he wished that his refusal should excite attention and discussion. This was however only one side of the affair ; it could not be the pope's intention to irritate the king, nor to repel all advances towards a reconciliation. In the Venetian reports it accordingly appears, that Fra Franceschi annexed to his official announcement, a note, to the effect that he believed that the cardinal would be received *privatim* and in secret\*. It seems probable that Gondi

\* Dispaccio Donato, 23 Ott. 1592, from a statement made to the Florentine ambassador, Niccolini. Fra Franceschi's declaration was, " Che crede che il papa l'admetterà, ma che vuole levare li cattolici fuori di dubio et ogni ombra che admettendolo riceve ambasceria di Navarra."

did actually go to Rome ; the pope is reported to have said to him, that he must knock at his door more than once. It is at least certain that an agent of Gondi repaired to Rome, and after several conferences, declared to the Venetian ambassador that he had every reason to entertain hope, and to be satisfied\* ; more he was not at liberty to say. In a word, the open estrangement was accompanied by secret advances. Clement VIII. wished neither to offend the Spaniards nor to repulse Henry IV. ; and his conduct was calculated to accomplish both his ends.

Meanwhile a new and far more important question had presented itself.

In the January of 1593, all the members of the estates of France belonging to the party of the League, met to proceed to the election of a new king. As the sole ground for the exclusion of Henry IV. was a religious one, an unusual authority in the assembly fell to the share of the papal legate, Sega, bishop of Piacenza, who had been appointed by Gregory XIV. ; a man imbued with the ecclesiastical spirit of that pontiff's reign. Clement deemed it necessary to send him particular instructions, in which he admonished him to look to it that neither violence nor bribery influenced the votes : he conjured him to beware above all things of precipitation in so important a matter† ; a caution which

\* Ibid. "Dopo aver lassato sfogar il primo moto della alteration di S. Beat."

† Davila gives an extract from this instruction, xiii. p. 810.

would have materially influenced the conduct of an ambassador who thought himself bound to obey the slightest hint of his sovereign ; but far too general to draw a dignitary of the church, who looked for advancement rather to Spain than to the pope, from a party to which he had hitherto belonged, and which he esteemed the orthodox one. Cardinal Sega changed not his course in the least. On the 13th of June, 1593, he published a declaration, in which he called upon the estates to elect a king who might be not only a true catholic, but also disposed and determined to defeat all the efforts of the heretics. This, he said, was what his holiness wished more than anything on earth\*.

The character of the pope's instructions to which we have just referred, is in conformity with all his other proceedings. In generals he adheres to the high orthodox party of Spain and the church. He does not indeed exhibit that fervour and devotion in the cause which had distinguished other popes ; if he feels them, it is in secret ; it is sufficient for him to adhere quietly and blamelessly, as the order of public business required, to that side which had already been taken, and which had the greatest analogy with the idea of his high and holy office. It is however evident, that so far from wishing

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\* " . . . . . qu'il ait le courage et les autres vertus requises pour pouvoir heureusement reprimer et anéantir du tout les efforts et mauvais desseins des heretiques. C'est la chose du monde que plus S. S. presse et desire." (Cayet, 58. 351.)

completely to repulse the other party, he avoided driving them to decided hostility. By means of secret advances and vague expressions, he kept them in hope of a reconciliation at some future time; whilst he satisfied the Spaniards, he allowed their adversaries to persuade themselves that his actions were not quite free; that in some particulars he was irresistibly governed by deference to the opinion of Spain. In Sixtus, it was a war of contending sentiments, which hindered him from coming to any final decision; in Clement, it was regard to the opinion of both sides, prudence, circumspection; the offspring of experience of the world, and of a desire to avoid hostilities. The inevitable consequence, however, was, that he, like his predecessor, exercised no determining influence.

Thus left to themselves, the affairs of France were the more free to follow the direction given to them by their own internal impulses.

The most important circumstance was, that the chiefs of the League quarrelled. The sixteen attached themselves closely to Spain, while Mayenne pursued the aims of personal ambition. This only inflamed the zeal of the sixteen; they proceeded to the most atrocious crimes against those whom they imagined, or who really were, deserters from their cause; such, for example, as the assassination of the president Brisson, for which Mayenne thought it necessary to chastise them, and to execute the most fanatical of their leaders. Fostered by this division, there arose in Paris, as early as the beginning of the year 1592, a party distinguished by moderate politi-



cal and religious opinions ; catholic indeed, but opposed to the measures of the League, and above all to the sixteen and the Spaniards. A compact was entered into, not very different from the League itself, the foremost object of which was to place the offices of the city in the hands of moderate, judicious men ; an object which was nearly accomplished in the course of that year\*. A similar turn of public opinion manifested itself throughout the kingdom, and had a great effect on the results of the elections for the meeting of the estates. Hence it happened that the Spaniards, in spite of all their projects, experienced such a pertinacious resistance in that assembly. While fanatical preachers continued to denounce every man as excommunicated, however constant in his attendance at mass, who consented so much as to talk of peace with heretics, the parliament insisted on the fundamental law of the realm, by which foreign princes were excluded from the throne ; and it was impossible not to perceive that this whole party, which was called the political party, only waited for the conversion of Henry IV. to declare their submission to him. What, then, was the difference between them and the catholic royalists in Henry's camp ? It was only this ;—that the former, before they tendered their allegiance, required to see a step actually taken, which the latter thought themselves justified in awaiting. For the catholic royalists also were unanimous in thinking

\* Cayet, lib. iv. (tom. 58. p. 5.), gives the propositions made in the first assembly.

that the king must return to their church; although they did not make his right, or his legitimacy as successor to the throne, depend upon it. Perhaps also antipathy to the protestants who surrounded the king made them insist the more earnestly on this point; the princes of the blood, the most eminent statesmen, and the greater part of the court united to form a tiers-parti, whose distinguishing characteristic lay in this demand\*.

As soon as matters had assumed this form, every one perceived, and the protestants themselves did not deny, that Henry, if he wished to be king, must become a catholic. It is not necessary for us to examine the claims of those who affirm that they gave the last impulse in that direction. More was effected by the grand combination of circumstances, by the necessity of things, than by any individual exertions†. In performing the act by which he became a member of the catholic church, Henry attached to himself and his cause that national French catholicism which was represented by the tiers-parti and the so-called political party, and which had now the prospect of maintaining an ascendancy in France.

This was however, in fact, only that same catholic opposition which had rallied round the banner of legitimacy and of national independence, in

\* Thus it is described in Sully, v. 249.

† That Henry was resolved on this in April, 1593, is proved by his letter to the grand duke of Tuscany on the 26th M. Galluzzi, Storia del Granducato, s. v. p. 160.

opposition to the schemes of the church and of Spain. How mightily was it now increased in power and importance ! In the general opinion of the country it unquestionably predominated, and throughout France people adhered to it in secret, if not openly ; it now acquired a firm internal station by the conversion of the sovereign—a sovereign too, so warlike, gallant and victorious. Thus raised in magnitude and consideration, this party once more presented itself before the pope and implored his recognition and his blessing. What glory was to be acquired, what influence exercised, by a frank and explicit declaration in its favour ! And so much still depended on it. Even the prelates who had received the king into the bosom of the church, had done so only with a reservation, that the pope would grant him absolution\*, and this the most powerful members of the League, with whom the king opened a negotiation, solicited†. Although promises are not always kept, it cannot be doubted that the absolution, if granted at this moment by the pope, would have had a powerful effect on the course of affairs. Henry IV. sent a grandee of his kingdom, the duke de Nevers, to solicit it ; and a truce was concluded until the answer should arrive.

The pope was cautious and mistrustful. As vi-

\* “ Messieurs du clergé luy avoient donné l’absolution à la charge qu’il envoyeroit vers sa S<sup>té</sup> la requerir d’approuver ce qu’ils avoient fait.” (Cayet, 58, 390.)

† Villeroy, Mémoires. Coll. Univ. 62, 186.

sions of religious ambition had inflamed Sixtus V., so, on the other hand, fears of being deceived and betrayed into difficulties, restrained Clement VIII. He thought that Henry IV. would perhaps at last relapse into protestantism, as he had done once before ; he declared that he should not believe that the king was really converted till an angel from heaven came and told him so ; he looked around him and saw the majority of the curia still hostile to the French ; from time to time a pamphlet appeared, repeating the assertion that Henry IV., as a ‘ hæreticus relapsus,’ could not be absolved even by the pope himself ; and Clement still wanted courage to defy the Spaniards who were the leaders and champions of these opinions\*. And was not the party which now solicited his favour really engaged in opposition to the claims of the church of Rome ?—“ traitors to the throne and the church,” as he expressed himself, “ bastards, children of the handmaid and not of the wife ; whereas the leaguers had proved themselves true and legitimate sons†.” Certainly it would have required some resolution to grant their petition ; a resolution of

\* *Les Intimidations qui furent faites au Pape Clement VIII. par le Duc de Sessa*,—not very authentic, and which were printed long ago in the *Mémoires de M<sup>r</sup> le Duc de Nevers*, ii. p. 716, though since given as something new in *Capefigue, Histoire de la Réforme*, tom. vii.

† *Disp.* 20 Aug. 1593. Account of Henry’s conversion. “ Il papa non s’era per tali avisi molto alterato e tuttavia restava con l’animo molto involto nelli suoi soliti dubbj e perplessità.” He said to the Venetian ambassador that Henry remained a hæreticus relapsus, and that no reliance was to be placed on the truth of his conversion.

which Clement was as yet incapable\*. Nevers repaired to Rome with a double sense of his high rank and his important mission ; he doubted not that he should be received with joy, and this expectation he expressed ; the king's letter, of which he was the bearer, was conceived in the same tone. The pope remarked that it seemed as if the king had not only been long a catholic, but that he came, like a second Charlemagne, from achieving a victory over the enemies of the church. Nevers was astonished at the coldness of his reception, and at the small attention paid to his proposals. Finding that all his efforts were vain, he at length asked the pope what the king should do to deserve his holiness' favour. The pope replied, that there were divines enough in France to inform him. " But," said the duke, " will your holiness be content with what the divines prescribe ? " The pope refused to answer. He refused even to consider him as ambassador of Henry IV. ; he would treat him only as Louis Gonzaga, duc de Nevers ; he desired that all that passed between them should be regarded not as an official negotiation, but as a mere private conversation ; it was impossible to prevail on him to give his assent to any written agreement. " Nothing remains for me," said Nevers to cardinal Toledo, who brought him this final answer from the pope, " but to lament the calamity which will once more, when war breaks out, subject France to the fury of the soldiery." The cardinal said not a word, but smiled.

\* *Relatio dictorum a Clemente VIII. papa die 28 Dec. 1593, in consistorio.* Mém. de Nevers, ii. 638.

Nevers quitted Rome, and gave vent to his disgust in bitter reports of what had passed\*.

Men have, generally speaking, no feeling but for their own situation. The Roman curia knew only what was advantageous to itself; not a trace of genuine sympathy in the destinies of France is discoverable in its conduct.

We know, indeed, enough of Clement to believe that he would not have utterly repulsed Henry's adherents; and less now than at an earlier period, because they were so much more powerful. On the contrary, it appears that he assured a secret agent, that the king had only to become thoroughly catholic and that he would be sure of absolution. It is very characteristic of this pope, that he, who publicly showed so decided an aversion to take any share in the king's return to the catholic faith, nevertheless sent word privily to the grand duke of Tuscany, that he could object to nothing the clergy of France might think fit to do. The grand duke was employed to communicate to the chiefs of the catholic royalists the conciliatory expressions of the pope†. Nevertheless Clement's only anxiety was about his own future, and hence things went in France as they could.

\* Two writings of almost exactly the same import: *Discours de ce que fit M<sup>r</sup> de Nevers à son voyage de Rome en l'année 1593*, and *Discours de la légation de M<sup>r</sup> le Duc de Nevers*. Both are contained in the second volume of the *Memoirs of Nevers* just mentioned; the first almost verbatim in Cayet; extracts in Thuanus, Davila, and lately, as if borrowed from unknown documents, in Capefigue.

† Davila, lib. xiv. p. 939.

The truce had expired ; the sword was once more unsheathed, and affairs were once more to be decided by the fortune of war. But the superiority of Henry IV. now manifested itself decidedly and instantly. The commanders of the forces of the League had no longer that firm conviction which had formerly rendered their position so strong ; the doctrines of the political party, the conversion of the king, and his continued successes had shaken the faith and courage of all. One after another went over, without heeding that the pope still withheld absolution. Vitri, the commander in Meaux, who no longer received pay for his troops from the Spaniards, set the example, which was followed by those of Orleans, Bourges, and Rouen. But the most important question was, the part that Paris would take. There the political, or national party, after many oscillations, had obtained a clear superiority, had gained over the most distinguished families, and had filled the most important posts from its ranks. The armed citizens were already officered by men of those opinions, which also prevailed in the Hôtel de Ville ; the Prevôt des Marchands and the Échevins belonged, with a single exception, to that party. Under these circumstances, there could be no obstacle to the king's return. Accordingly, on the 22nd March, 1594, he re-entered Paris. Henry IV. was astonished to find himself greeted with such cordial and joyous cheers by the people from whom he had experienced such an obstinate resistance, and thought himself justified in inferring that they had

lived under a tyrannical rule : this however was not entirely true ; the sentiments of the League had really been the predominant ones, though others had taken their place. The king's return was mainly a victory of political opinions. The leaguers now underwent the same persecution which they had so often inflicted on others. The most influential founders and chiefs of the League, such as the formidable Boucher, quitted the city with the Spanish troops ; more than a hundred others who were regarded as the most dangerous were formally banished. All the authorities and the whole population took the oath of allegiance ; even the Sorbonne,—whose most stiff-necked and intractable members, and among them the rector of the university himself, were banished,—submitted to the dominant opinions. Widely different were their decisions now from those of 1589. The Sorbonne now acknowledged that all dominion was from God (according to the thirteenth chapter of the epistle to the Romans) ; that every man who set himself in opposition to the king, rebelled against God and subjected himself to damnation. It rejected the doctrine that it was lawful to refuse obedience to the king because he was not yet recognised by the pope, as an invention of evil-minded and ill-advised men. The members of the university in a body,—rector, dean, theologians, decretists, doctors in medicine, artists, monks and conventuals, scholars and officers,—now took the oath of fidelity and allegiance to Henry IV., and bound themselves to shed their blood for



him. Nay, what is more surprising, the university immediately opened a campaign against the jesuits, on the basis of this their new orthodoxy. It reproached them with their anarchical principles, in which, to say truth, that body had fully participated, and with their attachment to Spain. For a time the jesuits defended themselves with some success. But as in the same year, Jean Chastel\*, a man who had attended their schools, made an attempt to assassinate the king, and confessed in the course of his examination, that he had frequently heard from the jesuits that it was lawful to kill a king who was not reconciled to the church, they could no longer withstand the universal triumph of the adverse party; scarcely could the people be withheld from storming their college; and at length all the members of the order were sentenced to void the kingdom within fourteen days, as seducers of youth, disturbers of the public peace, enemies of the king and of the state†. Thus did the opinions, which in small and obscure beginnings had taken their stand as oppo-

\* Juvencius, partis v. lib. xii. n. 13. gives the following description of this criminal: "*Indoles juveni tristis ac tetrica, mores improbi, mens anxia recordatione criminum atque unius potissimum quod matrem aliquando verberasset. . . . Conscientia criminum ultrix mentem efferatam diro vexare pergebat metu: quem ut leniret, immane parricidium impos mentis an potius erebi furiis incitatus designat, quo tanquam de religione ac regno bene meritis peccatorum veniam facilius, ut demens reputabat, consequeretur.*"

† *Annuaire Literaire Societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 350. "*Tanta superat adhuc præteriti naufragii fluctuatio ut nondum tabulas omnes atque armamenta disjecta collegerimus.*"

sition, now gain possession of Paris, and gradually of the whole kingdom, and drive their antagonists from the field. The change was universal. New submissions to the king's authority were daily tendered; Henry was crowned and anointed at Chartres; prayers were put up for him in all pulpits, the monastic orders acknowledged him, and he exercised without opposition those ecclesiastical privileges of the crown which are of such vast importance. He administered them like a good catholic: wherever the rites of that church had suffered in the recent troubles, he endeavoured to restore them; wherever it had maintained its exclusive exercise, he solemnly confirmed its possession of that privilege. All this he did; yet he was still not reconciled with the pope.

Clement, however, was now urged by absolute necessity to consider the means of effecting a reconciliation\*. If he had delayed longer, a schism, a separate church of France, might have arisen.

The Spaniards indeed still opposed this measure. They maintained that Henry was not truly converted, and that the real moment for dreading a schism was that of his receiving absolution†; they even pointed out the occasions on which it would inevitably break out. It still required some resolution in the pope to set himself in opposition

\* It is not till 5th Nov. 1594, that the Venetian ambassador finds the pope "meglio inclinato che nel passato" with regard to the affairs of France.

† Ossat à M. de Villeroy, Rome, 6 Dec. 1594. *Lettres d'Ossat*, i. 53.

to those by whose power he was surrounded, and who had a large party in the curia ; to abandon principles which had hitherto passed for orthodox ; for which his predecessors had so often set in motion their weapons, both spiritual and temporal, and which he himself had for many years sanctioned. But he clearly perceived that every procrastination must become dangerous, and that he had nothing to expect from the other side ; he felt that the rising power in France, although in spiritual affairs it might be in opposition to the strictly orthodox doctrines, yet in temporal, had a manifest sympathy with the interests of Rome : it might perhaps be possible to overcome the former, and to take advantage of the latter ; at all events, Clement showed the greatest readiness to listen to the first overtures that were addressed to him. We have the accounts of his negotiations from the pen of d'Ossat, the French minister plenipotentiary ; they are agreeable, instructive, and well worth reading, but I do not find that he had any great difficulties to contend with. It would be useless to follow him through all the details of the transactions ; suffice it to say, that the conduct of the pope was already determined by the general posture of affairs. The only question was, whether the king would, in return, accede to certain demands made by the pope. Those who were unfavourable to the reconciliation would fain have raised these as high as possible, on the plea that the church stood in need of all the securities she could obtain in the existing state of things ; the

pope, however, adhered to the more moderate and practicable conditions. He required especially the restoration of the catholic religion in Bearn ; the introduction of the decrees of the council of Trent, so far as they were compatible with the laws of the land ; strict observance of the concordat, and the education of the heir-presumptive to the throne, the prince of Condé, in the catholic faith. The king had still great reason to desire a reconciliation with the see of Rome. His authority rested on his conversion to catholicism, and this act required the pope's absolution to stamp it with perfect authenticity : although by far the greater number were content to waive the point, there were still some who availed themselves of the want of this sanction as a reason for their continued opposition\*. Henry IV. agreed to the required conditions without much difficulty ; he had already prepared their fulfilment in part, of his own accord, for he was extremely anxious to appear a good catholic ; and greatly as his power was increased since the mission of the duke de Nevers, the letter in which he now craved absolution of the pope was far more humble and submissive than that of which the

\* Du Perron au Roi, 6 Nov. 1595 : “ De toucher icy, combien l'autorité et la faveur de ce siège estant entre vos mains vous peut servir d'un utile instrument non seulement pour remettre et conserver vos sujets en paix et en obeissance, mais aussi pour vous preparer toutes sortes de grandeur hors de vostre royaume, et a tout le moins pour tenir vos ennemis en quelque crainte et devoir par l'apprehension de la même autorité dont ils se sont aydez pour troubler vos estats et vos peuples, ce seroit un discours superflu.” (Les Ambassades du Cardinal Perron, i. 27.)

duke was the bearer\*. “The king,” it says, “returns to the feet of your holiness, and implores in all humility, by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you would grant him your holy blessing, and your supreme absolution.”

The pope was fully satisfied†. Nothing now remained but that the College of Cardinals should declare its assent. The pope, however, would not allow a regular consistory to be summoned, where a consistent adherence to the spirit of former decrees might easily have occasioned inconvenient results. He invited the cardinals to give him their several opinions in private audiences; an expedient which had often been adopted on similar occasions. When he had consulted them all, he declared that two-thirds were in favour of the absolution.

On the 17th of December, 1595, preparations were accordingly made for the performance of that ceremony. The pope's throne was erected in front of St. Peter's, while the cardinals and the curia reverently surrounded their head. The king's peti-

\* *Requête du Roi*, in Amelot's notes on Ossat, i. 160.

† The court of Rome still thought this resolution rash and daring. Dolfino, *Relatione*: “I più gravi negotii il papa ha saputo espedire e molto bene e molto ancora con gran celerità: perchè con tanti contrarj quanti ogn'uno sa benedisse il re di Francia, lo accettò nel grembo della chiesa, mandòli un legato nel tempo che tutti lo ributtavano sotto pretesto che non fosse sua dignità mandarlo avanti che 'l re mandasse il suo ambasciatore a Roma, et in quello l' autorità della S<sup>ria</sup> V<sup>ra</sup> giovò assai, che così mi disse S. S<sup>a</sup>, per diversi officj che a quel tempo io aveva fatto a nome di lei.”

tion, and the terms to which he had agreed, were read aloud. Thereupon the representatives of the most christian king threw themselves at the feet of the pope, who granted them absolution by a slight stroke with a wand. The papal chair once more appeared in all the fulness and splendour of its ancient and traditional authority\*.

This ceremony was indeed a symbol or manifestation of an important fact. The ruling power in France, now strong and firmly established, was again catholic, and had an interest to stand well with the pope. A new focus of catholicism was thus formed, from whence important influences must of necessity emanate.

On nearer consideration, however, this fact presents itself under two distinct aspects.

It was not by the immediate efforts of the pope, nor by a triumph of the strict party, that France had been won; on the contrary, it was by a union of the moderate opinions lying between the two extremes, by the superior popularity of a party originally in opposition to the court of Rome, that this had been brought about. Hence it came to pass that the French church assumed a totally different attitude from that of Italy, the Netherlands, or from the newly-established church of Germany. It submitted to the pope, but it did so with a freedom

\* Ossat, who usually describes everything most circumstantially, passes over this ceremony with a very slight mention (i. 168). "Tout s'y est passé," says he, "convenablement à la dignité de la couronne très chrétienne." This opinion was not, however, entertained by all.

and an independence based on its origin, and the sentiment of which it never lost. Hence the papal see could never regard France as in the slightest degree an absolute conquest.

But the advantages which resulted to Rome in a political point of view were unqualified. The balance of power, which had been lost, was restored ; two great nations, mutually jealous, and involved in interminable wars and conflicts, held each other in check ; both were catholic, and might obey the same impulse ; at all events the pope occupied a far more independent station between them than he or his predecessors had for a long time found it possible to attain to. He was now in a great degree emancipated from the bonds in which the preponderancy of Spain had bound him.

It was only by the course of events that this political consequence of the reconciliation of France was brought to light. On the lapse of Ferrara to the papal see, French influence first showed itself again in Italian affairs. This event was also one of such great importance to the growth of the political power of the Roman states, that it must for awhile divert our attention, as it did that of cotemporaries, from the affairs of religion.

We shall begin by casting back a glance on that state under the last of its princes.

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## § 7. FERRARA UNDER ALFONSO II.

It is frequently assumed by historians that Ferrara was in a peculiarly flourishing state under the last prince of the house of Este ; but this is an illusion, like a multitude of others, which rests on antipathy to the secular power of Rome.

Montaigne visited Ferrara in the reign of Alfonso II. He admired the wide streets and the beautiful palaces of the city, but even he was struck, as travellers are in our day, with their empty and deserted appearance\*. The prosperity of the country depended on the maintenance of the dams and the regulation of the course of the waters ; but neither the dams nor the rivers and canals were kept in good order ; inundations were not unfrequent ; the Volana and Primaro were choked with sand, so that their navigation was utterly stopped†.

It were a still greater mistake to imagine that the subjects of this house were free and happy. Alfonso II. enforced the claims of his treasury in the severest manner. At the conclusion of every contract, even were it only for a loan, the tenth of the sum in question fell to the duke ; and he took a tenth of everything that was carried into the

\* Montaigne, *Voyage*, i. 226—231.

† A report on the States of the Church in the beginning of the seventeenth century relates, that the duke had employed the peasants whose duty it was to work on the Po, on his own estates at Mesola, and the banks of the river had thus so entirely fallen to decay that they could not be restored. (*Inff. Politt.*, tom. ix.)



city. He had the monopoly of salt ; he laid a new tax upon oil, and by the advice of his administrator of the taxes, Christofano da Fiume, he at last took exclusive possession of the trade in flour and bread ; nor could these prime necessities of life be obtained except from the duke's officers ; no man dared to lend a handful of flour to a neighbour\*. Even the nobles were not allowed to hunt for more than a few days, and never with more than three dogs. One day the bodies of six men were seen hanging in the market-place, with dead pheasants tied to their feet, to show, it was said, that they were shot poaching in the duke's preserves.

When therefore writers dwell on the prosperity and activity of Ferrara, they cannot mean to apply this either to the country or to the town, but merely to the court.

In the stormy times of the first ten years of the sixteenth century, in which so many flourishing houses, so many powerful principalities, were utterly wrecked, and all Italy was convulsed from its very foundations, the house of Este had contrived, by an union of dexterous policy with spirited self-

\* Frizzi, *Memorie per la Storia di Ferrara*, tom. iv. p. 364. And especially Manolesso, *Relatione di Ferrara* : “ Il duca non è così amato come li suoi precessori, e questo per l' austerità et esattioni che fa Christofano da Fiume cognominato il Frisato (Sfregiato) suo gabelliere.—Il Frisato s' offerse di vendere miglior mercato le robbe a beneficio del popolo di quello che facevano gli altri e di darne molto utile a S. Ecc<sup>za</sup> : piacque il partito al duca :—ma se bene il Frisato paga al duca quello che gli ha data intentione, non sodisfa però al popolo, vendendo la robba cattiva quanto alla qualità e molto cara quanto al prezzo.”

defence, to sustain itself erect amidst all dangers. With these, however, it united other qualities. Who has not read of that race which, as Bojardo expresses it, was destined to be the preserver of all valour, kindliness, courtesy, love, grace, and gaiety\*?—of their residence, which, as Ariosto says, “they had adorned, not so much with walls and spacious royal roofs, as with fair studies and excellent manners†?” If, however, the princes of the house of Este deserved well of the world for their patronage of learning and poetry, they have been richly rewarded. The memory of their power and their splendour, which would soon have passed away, has been rendered eternal by its connexion with the memory of writers who cannot die.

Alfonso II. sought to maintain things in the same state in which they had existed under his predecessors. He was actuated by the same views. He had not indeed to resist such violent storms as had assailed them; yet as he was involved in incessant misunderstandings with Florence, and was not always very secure of the dispositions of his feudal lord, the pope, he did not abandon his defensive attitude. Ferrara was esteemed the strongest fortress of Italy after Padua; twenty-seven thousand

\* Bojardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, ii. 22.

“Da questa (stirpe) fia servato ogni valore,  
Ogni bontade et ogni cortesia,  
Amore, leggiadria, stato giocundo  
Tra quella gente fiorita nel mundo.”

† Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, xxxv. 6.

“Non pur di mura e d’ampli tetti regj,  
Ma di bei studi e di costumi egregi.”

men were enrolled in the militia\*, and Alfonso was anxious to foster a military spirit in his subjects. In order to counterbalance the favour which Tuscany enjoyed at the court of Rome, by a friendship of not less importance, he attached himself to the emperors. He crossed the Alps repeatedly with a brilliant retinue, married an Austrian princess, and, it is affirmed, spoke German; in the year 1556 he led an army consisting of four thousand men into Hungary to the assistance of the emperor against the Turks.

Nor was his reign less favourable to literature and art. Seldom indeed has the literary element been so strongly infused into the government or the court of any country. Two professors of the university, Pigna and Montecatino, were successively prime ministers; nor did they relinquish their literary pursuits; Pigna at least, while at the head of affairs, continued to deliver lectures, and occasionally published books†. Battista Guarini, the author of the *Pastor Fido*, was sent ambassador to Venice,

\* *Relatione sopra la Romagna di Ferrara*: “ Erano descritti nelli rolli della militia dal commissario della battaglia a ciò deputato tutti i sudditi atti a portar armi. Erano costretti a starne provisti per haver da servire nell’ occasioni a piedi o a cavallo secondo le forze delle loro facoltà e godevano essi alcune esenzioni.”

† *Manolesso*: “ Segretario intimo è il S<sup>r</sup> Giovamb. Pigna, per mano del quale passano tutti negotii. Legge pubblicamente la filosofia morale, e scrive l’istoria della casa d’ Este: è oratore, filosofo e poeta molto eccellente: possiede benissimo la lingua Greca, e servendo il suo principe ne’ negotii e trattando e iscrivendo quanto occorre, non tralascia però i studi, et in tutte le professioni è tale che pare che ad una sola attenda.”

and then to Poland. Even Francesco Patrizi, although occupied with abstruse subjects, boasts of the sympathy he received from the court. Every kind of liberal pursuit was encouraged. Scientific discussions alternated with disputations on questionable points of love, such as Tasso, who was for a time attached to the university, once held. Plays were given sometimes by the university, sometimes by the court; and the theatre was not only a place of transient amusement, but a school of art, in which new dramatic forms were continually attempted, and which had the merit of perfecting the pastoral drama, and of founding the opera. Occasionally Ferrara was visited by foreign cardinals and princes, by those of the neighbouring cities of Mantua, Guastalla and Urbino, and sometimes even by a prince of the imperial house. The court then appeared in all its brilliancy. Tournaments were held in which the nobles spared no cost, and a hundred knights sometimes jousted in the court-yard of the palace. These were representations of some fabulous incidents or poetical creations, as the names used at them show—the Temple of Love\*, the Happy Island, &c. Enchanted castles were stormed, defended, and conquered.

The court of Ferrara thus exhibited the most singular union of poetry, learning, politics, and chivalry. Pomp was ennobled by its objects, and any defect of means was amply supplied by talent and taste.

\* Extracts from descriptions which then appeared, e. g. of the Tempio d'amore, may be found in Muratori, Serassi, and Frizzi.

Tasso, both in his "Rime" and his epic poem, has placed before us a lively picture of this court; of "the high-hearted and energetic prince, of whom it is difficult to say whether he is a better knight or captain;" of his consort, and, above all, of his sisters. The elder, Lucrezia, lived but for a short time with her husband in Urbino, and returned to reside in Ferrara, where she exercised a considerable influence in public affairs, but was chiefly distinguished as the promoter and inspirer of literature and of music,—the especial patroness of Tasso. The younger, Leonora, was less prominent in the court and the world; she was of a delicate constitution, and quiet retiring manners, but sharing with her sister the higher and stronger qualities of mind\*. During an earthquake both of them refused to quit the palace; Leonora especially seemed to delight in an opportunity of displaying a stoical indifference to danger, nor did they give way till the peril was imminent; the roof fell in at the very moment they quitted it. Leonora was regarded as so pure and holy a creature that the deliverance of Ferrara from an inundation was ascribed to her prayers†. The homage which Tasso paid to these remarkable women was of a nature corresponding with their respective characters;—to the younger, rare and chastened, always as if he felt more than he dared to

\* In the year 1566 she carried on the regency during the duke's absence, according to Manolesso, "con infinita sodisfattione de' sudditi;"—"non ha preso," he continues, "nè vuol prendere marito, per esser di debolissima complessione: è però di gran spirito."

† Serassi, Vita di Torquato Tasso, p. 150.

express ; to the elder, perfectly free and unreserved ; he compared her with the full-blown fragrant rose, from which maturity has taken none of its charms. Other ladies in subordinate ranks graced the court of Ferrara ; among them we distinguish Barbara Sanseverina and her daughter Leonora Sanvitale. Tasso has described the calm discretion of the mother, the brilliant charm of youthful beauty in the daughter, with exquisite finish ; no portrait could bring them more vividly before us. Then follow descriptions of the charming *villeggiature* of the court ; of their hunting-parties and sports, and all the pleasures and the business which filled their lives ; nor is it easy to conceive how any mind can resist the captivation of his rich stream of harmonious description.

Yet it would not be safe to surrender ourselves implicitly to this impression. The same power which exacted such absolute obedience in the country, was not unfelt at court. Those scenes of poetry and of pleasure were sometimes interrupted by incidents of a far different character : the noble and the great were as little spared as the humble.

One of the family of Gonzaga was assassinated. The crime was universally imputed to the young Ercole Contrario, and it was at least certain that the murderers found refuge on one of his estates. The duke demanded that they should be given up. Contrario, probably fearing their testimony against him, immediately put them to death himself, and sent their dead bodies to the duke. Upon this he was summoned to appear at court in person ; on

the 2nd of August 1575, he had audience. The Contrarj were the oldest and wealthiest family of Ferrara, and Ercole the last scion of this illustrious stock; yet in a short time after he had entered the palace he was brought out of it a corpse. The duke said the young man was suddenly struck with apoplexy in the midst of their conversation. But no one believed this; marks of violence were visible on the body; and indeed the duke's friends confessed that their sovereign had caused him to be put to death, and excused him on the ground that he did not choose to inflict on an illustrious name the stain of an ignominious death\*. It was a way of executing justice which kept every man in terror, and which was rendered the more suspicious and the more formidable, from the fact that the property of the family must now lapse to the duke.

But we may affirm generally, that it would not have been prudent in any one to oppose the sovereign in the slightest degree†. The court of Ferrara was such slippery ground, that even Montecatino, subtle and polished as he was, could not eventually keep his footing in it. Panigarola, at

\* Frizzi, Memorie, iv. 382.

† When Tasso is not in good humour, he expresses himself very differently from what we have quoted above: "Perchè io conosceva," says he in a letter to the duke of Urbino, "il duca per natural inclinazione dispostissimo alla malignità e pieno d'una certa ambiziosa alterezza, la quale egli trae della nobiltà del sangue e della conoscenza ch'egli ha del suo valore, del quale in molte cose non si da punto ad intendere il falso." (Lettere, n. 284. Opere, tom. ix. 188.)

that time the most celebrated preacher in Italy, was with some difficulty induced to settle at Ferrara ; he was suddenly banished in a public and violent manner, and when inquiries were made as to the cause of his disgrace, no other charge was adduced against him, than that he had listened to some proposals of advancement from another quarter. It is no wonder if such an atmosphere was fatal to the wayward, sensitive, melancholy Tasso. The duke appeared attached to him, listened to him with pleasure, frequently took him into the country with him, and did not disdain to correct the descriptions of military transactions which occur in the *Gerusalemme*. But from the time that Tasso showed a sort of inclination to enter the service of the Medici, all cordiality between them was at an end ; the unhappy poet left the court ; dragged back by a resistless longing, he returned, and a few reproachful words which he uttered in one of his melancholy moods, were sufficient to determine the duke to condemn him to seven long years of captivity\*.

We have here a perfect type of an Italian principality, such as it existed in the fifteenth century ; resting on well-calculated political relations abroad ; unlimited and despotic at home ; surrounded with splendour, intimately connected with literature, and jealous of the very appearance of power. Strange form of society ! The strength and the resources of the country combine to produce a court ; the

\* Serassi, *Vita del Tasso*, p. 282.



central point of that court is the prince ; and thus the ultimate product of the social body is, in the last result, the conscious power and the unchecked will of one man. The feeling of his own value and importance arises from his position in the world, from the obedience he commands, the respect he receives.

Alfonso II., though twice married, had no children. His conduct under this disappointment is characteristic of his entire policy.

His aim was twofold ; first, not to let his subjects believe that it was possible for them to fall off from his house ; and secondly, to keep the nomination of a successor in his own hands, and not to raise up a rival to himself.

In September, 1589, he went to Loreto, where the pope's sister Donna Camilla then happened to be, and spared neither gifts nor promises to win her to his interests. He hoped through her means to obtain the power to nominate the one of his nearest relations whom he held to be the fittest. Scarcely however were the negotiations opened, when Sixtus V. died.

By similar means, presents to the pope's sister-in-law, and obsequious attentions to his nephew, Alfonso obtained access to Gregory XIV. in the year 1591. As soon as he perceived that he might entertain a hope of success, he went to Rome to conduct the negotiation in person. The first question was, whether the bull of Pius V., which prohibited the re-investiture of escheated papal fiefs, applied to Ferrara. Alfonso denied that it was ap-

plicable, inasmuch as Ferrara had never escheated. Yet the words were but too precise; the congregation decided that the bull certainly included Ferrara. The only question then was, whether a pope had not the power to give a special decision in a special case. This the congregation did not venture to deny; it only annexed the condition that the necessity must be urgent, the utility manifest\*; —a condition involving important consequences. It is not improbable that if the proceedings had been hastened, and a new investiture had been made out in the name of a particular individual, the matter might have been brought to the desired close. But Alfonso would not name his heir; nor indeed was he of the same opinion as the Sfrondati on this point; they proposed marchese Filippo d' Este, whereas he preferred his cousin Cesare. In this way time passed, and Gregory died before anything could be definitively arranged†.

Meanwhile negotiations had also been opened with the imperial court. Ferrara was a fief of Rome, but Modena and Reggio of the empire.

\* Dispaccio Donato: "Quando ci fusse evidentissima utilità et urgente necessità . . . . il che fu fatto per aprire la strada all' intentione del S<sup>r</sup> duca." Cardinal S. Severina asserts that it was principally he who prevented this plan, although with much difficulty and opposition; and that afterwards the pope repented of that addition.

† Cronica di Ferrara, MS. Bibl. Albani also says, there was no doubt that Gregory XIV. would have done something for Ferrara; that he left the congregation in a fit of rage, which made him ill. Alfonso went to a villa of cardinal Farnese's, "aspettando o vita o morte di questo papa. Venne la morte. Il duca ritornò."

Here therefore the duke's wonted policy came to his aid ; he was on the best terms with the most powerful minister of the emperor, Wolf Rumpf, through whose influence Rudolf II. was induced to grant him a renewal of the investiture, and even to allow him a certain period within which he should be at liberty to name whomsoever he pleased as his successor.

But these compliances of the emperor only rendered the new pope, Clement VIII., the more unyielding. It appeared more consonant to catholic and ecclesiastical policy that the pope should reduce an escheated fief into possession, than regrant it ; this had been the judgement of the holy pontiff Pius V. In the year 1592, Clement proposed, in secret consistory, the ratification of the bull in question in its original form, without the qualification annexed by Gregory XIV. ; and in that form it was passed\*.

The time appointed by the emperor had also expired, and it was become necessary for the duke to designate his successor. Alfonso I. towards the close of his life had married Laura Eustochia, by whom he had already a son : from this son was descended Don Cesare d'Este, who, after long hesitation, was chosen by the duke. But even after his choice was determined, he used the most mysterious precautions. Without the privity of any individual, he sent an autograph letter to the emperor containing the nomination in form ; at the same time earnestly entreating him to let no one know it, not

\* Dispaccio Donato, 27 Dec. 1592.

even his own envoy at the imperial court ; and to express his assent in no other way than by simply sending back the document subscribed with the imperial name\*.

He was determined to retain undivided to his last gasp the highest consideration in his narrow territory ; he could not endure to witness the homage of his court to the rising sun. Cesare himself knew nothing of the favour conferred upon him ; indeed he was kept under rather stricter rule than before ; the splendour of his appearance was somewhat diminished (for instance, he was not allowed more than three nobles in his retinue) ; and it was not till the duke's life was at its last ebb, till the physicians had given up the last hope, that Alfonso sent for him to announce the fortune which awaited him. The will was opened in the presence of the first persons of Ferrara, who were admonished by the minister to be faithful to the house of Este. The duke told Cesare that he bequeathed him the fairest state in the world, defended by arms and by its population ; strong in its alliances on either side the Alps. Having said this, Alfonso II. expired, on the 27th October, 1597.

\* *Relatione di quello che è successo in Ferrara dopo la Morte del Duca Alfonso (MS. Barber.).* “ Il duca fra l'anno concessogli di tempo alla dichiarazione scrisse di suo pugno una lettera all' imperatore e nominò Don Cesare, pregando caldamente S. M. Ces<sup>a</sup> che in confirmatione del nominato sottoscrivesse la sua, quale sigillata senza publicare il fatto la rimandasse indietro per il conte Ercole Rondinelli, conferendogli altramente il negotio. Il tutto faceva S. A. acciò Don Cesare non s' insuperbisse nè della nobiltà fusse riverito e corteggiato come lor principe.”

## § 8. CONQUEST OF FERRARA.

Cesare took possession of the fiefs of the empire without opposition, and even those of the pope did him homage; in Ferrara he was invested by the magistrate with the ducal mantle, and greeted by the people with shouts and acclamations as their new sovereign.

But he was soon in a position to put to the proof the domestic power and the foreign support of which his predecessor had boasted.

Clement remained unshaken in his determination to reduce Ferrara into the possession of the church. He thought he should obtain eternal fame if he could accomplish what had been vainly attempted by so many of his predecessors. On the news of Alfonso's death, he declared that he was sorry that the duke left no son; but that the church must have her own again. He would not listen to Cesare's ambassadors, and called his taking possession an usurpation; he threatened him with excommunication unless he abdicated within a fortnight; and to give force to his words, he immediately began to prepare to carry his menace into effect. A new loan was made and a new monte founded, in order not to touch the money in the castle\*. In a short time, the pope's nephew,

\* Many however maintain that this money was really used. Delfino says, on the other hand, "Con gran strettezza de' danari, senza metter mano a quelli del castello per conservar la riputazione della chiesa, in poco più di un mese ha posto insieme un esercito di 22 m. fanti e 3 m. cavalli."

cardinal Pietro Aldobrandino, surrounded by experienced captains, proceeded to Ancona to collect forces; he sent recruiters in all directions, and heavy contributions were levied on the provinces.

Nor did Cesare betray any want of courage at first\*. He declared that he would defend his good right to the last drop of his blood; that neither his religion nor his salvation would suffer: he repaired the fortifications of his strong places; the militia took up arms; a body of troops advanced to the frontier of the states of the church, and we find an invitation to them to enter Romagna, where the people were discontented with the papal yoke and only desired an opportunity to throw it off. It was likewise his good fortune that the neighbouring Italian states took part with him. His brother-in-law, the grand duke of Tuscany, declared that he would never desert him. The republic of Venice prevented the pope from recruiting in Dalmatia, and refused him the munitions of war which he wanted to draw from Brescia. The aggrandisement of the states of the church was intensely hateful to all the other Italian powers.

Had Italy been in the same situation as a century earlier,—tolerably independent of foreign influ-

\* Niccolò Contarini delle Historie Venetiane, MS., tom. i. lib. i. "Cesare nel principio si mostrò molto coraggioso in voler difender le sue ragioni, o perchè non prevedeva il contrasto o pur perchè gl' inesperti come nei vicini pericoli s'atterriscono così nelli lontani si manifestano intrepidi." Contarini's narrative contains a great deal of accurate and striking information on this event.

ences and relying only on herself,—it is probable that Clement VIII. would not have effected more than Sixtus IV. ; but those times were over ; everything was now referred to the general relations of Europe, and to the great powers of that time, France and Spain.

The inclinations of the Spaniards were no longer doubtful. Cesare d'Este had such implicit confidence in Philip II. that he proposed him to the pope as umpire ; the governor of Milan distinctly declared himself for Cesare, and offered him Spanish garrisons for his fortresses. It was however manifest, that the king, who had all his life repressed every commotion in Italy, hesitated at his advanced age to give occasion to a war, and conducted himself with extreme caution, which was also observed by his ambassador at Rome\*.

Under these circumstances, the war depended on the decision of Henry IV. The restoration of France as a mighty and catholic power, was evidently pregnant with the most important consequences to Italy. Strengthened by the alliance of the Italian princes, Henry IV. had victoriously defended his right, and they did not doubt that gratitude would now lead him to take their side in their differences with the Holy See. Independently of this, the crown of France was much bound to the house

\* Delfino relates how much was feared from him at Rome : “ Vi è un pensiero radicato a buon fundamento che la benedizione data al re di Franza sia stata offesa tale al cattolico e a Spagnuoli che non siano per scordarsela mai, e pare a S. S.<sup>a</sup> esserne molto ben chiarita in questa occasione di Ferrara.”

of Este. During the civil war, that family had advanced above a million of scudi to the royal house; this sum, which was not yet repaid, would now have sufficed to recruit an army to which no pope could have offered effectual resistance.

These, however, were not the considerations which determined Henry IV. Spite of his conversion to catholicism, he would always be compelled to do many things which could not be otherwise than displeasing to the court of Rome; in the affair of Ferrara he beheld only an opportunity of procuring oblivion for these things, and of raising the lilies (as his statesmen expressed it) once more at the court of Rome. Without the least hesitation or wavering, he offered the succour of France to the Holy Father. He was not only ready, he said, as soon as the pope desired, to send an army across the Alps, but also in case of necessity to come in person with all his forces to his assistance.

It was this declaration which decided the affair. The court of Rome, already conscious of all the difficulties in which the coldness of its neighbours and the open resistance of Ferrara might place it, now drew breath. "I cannot express," writes Ossat to the king, "what cordiality, praises, and blessings have been bestowed upon your majesty in return for your offer." He promises his royal master, that if his performance keep pace with his professions, he will stand in the same relation to the church as Pepin or Charlemagne.

The pope, on his side, now made immediate pre-



parations for the formal excommunication of his adversary.

The princes were surprised and alarmed ; they talked of black ingratitude ; they lost courage to support Ferrara, which otherwise they would unquestionably have done, openly or covertly, with all their might.

The influence of these circumstances was immediately felt by Ferrara. Alfonso's harsh sway had necessarily created much discontent. Cesare was new to government, without the requisite talents, and entirely without experience. He had almost to make the acquaintance of his privy councillors at his first sittings as their prince\* ; and as he had despatched to different courts his old friends who knew him, and on whom he could rely, he had no one about him in whom he had any real confidence, or with whom he could have any frank interchange of opinions. It was impossible for him to avoid false steps. From the very first, every one around him seemed infected by that feeling of

\* Niccolò Contarini : " Cesare si ridusse in camera co' suoi soli consiglieri, de' quali molti, per la ritiratezza nella quale era vissuto così volendo chi comandava, non conosceva se non di faccia, et egli non sufficiente di prender resolutione da se, vacillava nei concetti perchè quelli che consigliavano erano pieni di passioni particolari e per le speranze di Roma in cui miravano infetti di grandi contaminationi." Ossat too, *Lettres*, i. 495, gives as the reason of his misfortunes, " le peu de fidelité de ses conseillers mêmes, qui partie pour son peu de resolution, partie pour avoir des rentes et autres biens en l'état de l'église et esperer et craindre plus du St. siège que de lui, regardoient autant ou plus vers le pape que vers lui."

insecurity which is usually the forerunner of ruin. The great and powerful already began to calculate what advantage might possibly result to them from a change ; they tried to make a secret treaty with the pope, and despatched Antonio Montecatino as their delegate to Rome. But the most terrible calamity was, that a division arose in the house of Este itself. Lucrezia had hated Cesare's father ; she hated Cesare himself no less, and could not endure to be his subject ; she herself, the sister of the late duke, did not scruple to form an alliance with the pope and cardinal Aldobrandino.

Meanwhile the pope had performed the act of excommunication. On the 22nd of December, 1597, he went in procession to St. Peter's, and ascended the loggia of that church with his immediate retinue. A cardinal read the bull, in which Don Cesare d'Este was declared an enemy to the church of Rome, guilty of high treason, fallen under the heaviest censure, and under sentence of anathema ; his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance ; the officers of his government were warned to quit his service. After the bull was read, the pope with a wrathful countenance threw down a large burning taper on the ground. Trumpets and drums sounded, cannons were fired, and the noise of both was drowned in the cries of the populace.

Circumstances were of such a nature, that this excommunication could not fail to produce its full effect. An inhabitant of Ferrara itself brought a copy of the bull, sewed up in his clothes, into the

city, and delivered it to the bishop\*. The next morning, 31st of December, 1597, was fixed for the burial of a canon; the church was hung with black and the people assembled to hear the funeral sermon. The bishop ascended the pulpit and began to speak of death. "But far worse," exclaimed he suddenly, "than the death of the body, is the destruction of the soul, which now threatens us all." He paused, and ordered the bull to be read, in which all who refused to separate themselves from Don Cesare were menaced "to be hewn off, as withered branches, from the tree of spiritual life." Hereupon the bull was fixed upon the church door; the church was filled with sighs and lamentations, and fear fell upon the whole city.

Don Cesare was not the man to arrest the course of such an agitation. He had been advised to enlist Swiss and Germans in his service, but he had never been able to resolve on such a step. Catholics he would not have, because they were adherents of the pope; and still less protestants, because they were heretics; "just as if it was his business," said Niccolo Contarini, "to perform the office of an inquisitor." He now asked his confessor what he was to do; Benedetto Palma was a jesuit; he advised him to submit.

\* A certain Coralta. "Ributtato al primo ingresso da' soldati se escusò che lui ivi dimorava nè era ancora partito per Bologna," (whence however he was just arrived: he had dismounted from his horse at some distance from the gate,) "e ragionando si pose fra loro a sedere, finalmente assicurato si licentiò della guardia, entrò nella città, presentò al vescovo la scomunica con la lettera del arcivescovo di Bologna." (Relatione di quello che, etc.)

Don Cesare was in such a situation, that in order to make this submission under favourable conditions, he was compelled to have recourse to her whom he knew to be his worst enemy ; he was compelled to make use of the secret, and in a certain sense treasonable, connexion which Lucrezia had formed with Rome, to secure a tolerable retreat for himself\*. At his request she repaired, with her accustomed magnificence, to the enemy's camp.

Cesare's adherents always maintained that she might have made better terms for him ; but allured by the promise of possession for life of Bertinoro, with the title of duchess, and personally captivated by the young and witty cardinal, she conceded everything that was desired of her. On the 12th of January, 1598, the agreement was drawn up, in virtue of which Cesare was to make a formal renunciation of Ferrara, Comacchio, and his part of Romagna, and in return to be freed from the anathema of the church. He had flattered himself that he should save at least something, and this

\* Contarini : “ Come chi abandona ogni speranza, più facilmente si rimette nell' arbitrio dell' inimico che nella confidenza dell' amico, andò (Cesare) a ritrovare la duchessa d' Urbino, et a lei, la qual ben sapeva haver pur troppo intelligenza col C<sup>l</sup> Aldobrandino, rimise ogni sua fortuna. Accettò ella allegramente l'impresa ridotta dove al principio haveva desiderato. . . . Con molta comitiva quasi trionfante, accompagnata dal marchese Bentivoglio, capo delle milizie del duca, faceva il suo viaggio.” He describes Lucrezia as “ di pensieri torbidi : benchè simulasse altrimenti, era non di meno di lungo tempo acerrima nemica di Don Cesare.”

total loss of his possessions appeared very hard to him; he once more summoned the chief magistrates of the city, the Giudice de' Savj, and certain doctors and nobles, to council. They gave him no comfort; every man was already thinking only how to place himself on a good footing with the new power which was expected; already they vied with each other in eagerness to pull down the arms of the Este and to drive out their officers. Nothing remained for the duke, but to sign his abdication and to quit the inheritance of his fathers.

Thus did the house of Este lose Ferrara. Archives, museum, library, and a part of the artillery which Alfonso I. had cast with his own hands, were taken to Modena; all the rest was dispersed or destroyed. Alfonso's widow carried away her property, which filled fifty waggons; his sister, married in France, took upon herself the claims of her house to the crown of that kingdom. But the most unlooked-for conduct was that of Lucrezia. Precisely a month after she had concluded the above-mentioned treaty, on the 12th of February, she died. When her will was opened, it was found that she had made cardinal Aldobrandino, the very man who had driven her family from their ancient seat, heir to all her property. She had even bequeathed to him her claims, which now remained to be contested with Cesare himself. It was as if she had wished to bequeath to her ancient foe an adversary who might embitter the whole of his remaining life. There is something demoniacal in the satisfaction and pleasure which this woman

seems to have felt in leading on her own house to destruction.

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In this manner did the papal supersede the ducal sway. On the 8th of May the pope entered Ferrara in person. He wished immediately to enjoy the sight of his new acquisition, and to bind it to the church by suitable institutions.

He began his work with gentleness and mercy. A certain number of the principal men of Ferrara were invested with ecclesiastical dignities\*. Cardinals' hats, bishoprics, and auditorships were distributed; among those thus distinguished was the young Bentivoglio, the historian, the privy chamberlain of the pope. The duke's power had rested on the possession of municipal privileges; the pope resolved to restore to the citizens their ancient rights. He formed a council out of the three classes, in which the higher nobility possessed twenty-seven, the inferior nobility and the better sort of citizens fifty-five, and the trades eighteen seats. Their rights were carefully distinguished; those of the first class were the most considerable, but, on the other hand, their nomination depended chiefly on the pope. To this council the pope committed the superintendence of the provisions, the regulation of the rivers, the nomination of the judges and podestàs, and even the filling the chairs

\* Contarini: "Al Bevilacqua, che era di molto potere, fu dato il patriarcato latino di Constantinopoli. Il Saciato fu creato auditor di rota. Ad altri si dispensarono abbatie."

in the university ;—all rights which the duke had jealously retained in his own hands ; and, as may be imagined, a new state of society was introduced by this important change. Nor were the interests of the humbler classes neglected ; many of the strict fiscal regulations were abolished\*.

But affairs could not all be conducted in this temper, nor was even the sway of the church all mildness. The judicial duties of ecclesiastical officials very soon became burthensome to the nobility ; the first Giudice de' Savj, Montecatino, of whom mention has already been made, was intensely disgusted at the manner in which the rights of his office were limited, and sent in his resignation. It excited universal discontent, that pope Clement deemed it necessary to secure his conquest by the erection of a fortress. The representations which the inhabitants made against this project, however urgent and humble, were vain ; and one of the most populous parts of the city was selected for the citadel†. Whole streets were pulled down ; churches, oratories, hospitals, the banqueting-houses of the duke and of his court, the beautiful Belvedere, celebrated by so many poets,—all were levelled to the ground.

It was perhaps imagined that the memory of the ducal house would be thoroughly obliterated by the

\* Frizzi, Memorie v. p. 25.

† Dispaccio Delfino, 7 Giugno, 1598. “ Si pensa dal papa di far una cittadella della parte verso Bologna, per la poca sodisfazione che ha la nobiltà per non esser rispettata dalli ministri della giustitia e che non li siano per esser restituiti le entrate vecchie della comunità—dolendosi di esser ingannati.”

destruction of these buildings ; on the contrary, more effectual means could not have been taken to revive it : the almost quenched attachment to the hereditary sovereign race was rekindled. All those who had belonged to the court removed to Modena ; and Ferrara, already rather gloomy, became more and more deserted.

But all who were desirous of following the court were not permitted to do so. There is extant a MS. chronicle by an old servant of the ducal house, in which he dwells with delight on the court of Alfonso, its amusements, its concerts, and sermons. “ But now,” says he at the conclusion, “ all these things are over. There is now no longer a duke in Ferrara ; there are no longer princesses ; no concerts, or concert-givers : so passes this world’s glory. For others the world may be made pleasant by changes ; but not for me, for I remain alone, old, decrepid, and poor. Nevertheless, God be praised\*.”

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§ 9. DISSENSIONS AMONG THE JESUITS.

It is obvious that the grand results which Clement VIII. had attained in accordance with the policy of France, necessarily bound him more and more closely

\* Cronica di Ferrara : “ Sic transit gloria mundi. E per tale variare natura è bella, ma non per me, che io son restato senza patrone, vecchio, privo di tutti i denti e povero. Laudetur Deus.”



to that power. He now found the advantage of the moderation he had observed in the affairs of the League; he rejoiced that he had opposed no obstacle to the development of events in France, and had finally determined to grant the king absolution. The court of Rome took the same interest in the war which was waging on the frontiers of Flanders and of France, as if the cause had been its own; and that interest was entirely on the side of France. The conquest of Calais and Amiens by the Spaniards excited a displeasure at the court of Rome "which cannot be described," says Ossat; "an extreme melancholy, shame and indignation\*." "The pope and his kinsmen feared," observes Delfino, "that the Spaniards might wreak upon them the resentment they felt at the king's absolution." Fortunately Henry IV. quickly restored his damaged reputation by the reconquest of Amiens.

Not that the court of Rome had begun to love those with whom it had formerly been at enmity; those leaders of the clergy who had first taken part with Henry, and had founded the opposition we have described, were never forgiven; and promotion was

\* Ossat a Villeroy, 14 Mai, 1596; 20 Avril, 1597, i. 251, 458. Delfino: "Li pericoli di Marsiglia fecero stare il papa in gran timore e li nepoti: la perdita di Cales e poi quella di Amiens apportò loro gran mestitia e massime che si dubitò allora per le voci che andavano attorno di peggio, temendo quelli che ogni poco che cadeva più la riputatione de' Francesi, i Spagnoli non avessero mostrato apertamente lo sdegno che hanno avuto della resolutione (absolutione?) loro e la sua mala volontà: per questa causa principalmente hanno avuto carissimo il bene della Franza."

always bestowed by preference on those adherents of the League who were the last to relinquish their hostility to Henry ; i. e. who were in precisely the same predicament as the curia itself. But (as the opinions of men, however nearly they may approximate, yet betray varieties of character and inclination,) a catholic party soon appeared, even among the adherents of the king, affecting extraordinary rigour, with a view to maintain a good understanding with the court of Rome ; to this party the pope chiefly attached himself, in the hope of reconciling all the differences which still existed between the interests of Rome and of France ; but above all, it was his wish and his endeavour to restore the jesuits, who had been driven out of that kingdom, and thus, in defiance of the course which things had taken in France, to give greater currency to Romish doctrines.

His designs were aided by a movement in the order itself, which, though originating in its bosom, had a great analogy with the general tendencies of the court of Rome.

So strangely involved are often the affairs of this world, that at the moment in which the gravest charge brought by the university of Paris against the jesuits was their connexion with Spain ;—in which it was a common saying and belief in France, that every jesuit put up daily prayers for king Philip\*, and was bound by a fifth vow to devote himself to Spain ;—at that very moment the institute of the Company of Jesus was violently attacked in Spain

\* “ pro nostro rege Philippo.”

by discontented members of its own body, by the inquisition, by another monastic order, and lastly by the king himself.

This turn of affairs was attributable to several causes, the proximate one of which was as follows. In the early years of the order, the elder and more accomplished men who entered it were chiefly Spaniards; those of other nations were generally young men who had their education still to go through. Hence it naturally followed that the government of the company fell, during the first ten years, almost entirely into the hands of Spaniards. The first general congregation consisted of twenty-five members, eighteen of whom were Spaniards\*. The three first generals belonged to the same nation. After the death of the third, Borgia, in the year 1573, Polanco, also a Spaniard, had the best prospect of succeeding him.

It became evident, however, that even in Spain itself, his elevation would not be regarded with satisfaction. The company contained many recent converts from judaism, to which class Polanco himself belonged, and it was not thought desirable that the supreme authority in so powerful and so monarchically-constituted a body should fall into such hands†. Pope Gregory XIII., who had received an intimation

\* Sacchinus, v. 7, 99. In the second general congregation the proportion already began to be equalized, though in a very slight degree, as out of thirty-nine members twenty-four were Spaniards.

† Sacchinus, *Historia Societatis Jesu*, pars iv.; sive Everardus, lib. i. : "Horum origo motuum duplex fuit, studia nationum et neophytorum in Hispania odium."

to this effect, thought a change expedient on other grounds. A deputation of the congregation assembled to elect a general being presented to him, he asked how many votes each nation had; when it appeared that Spain had more than all the others put together. He inquired further, out of which nation the generals of the order had hitherto been chosen. He was told that there had been three, all Spaniards. "It is fair," replied Gregory, "that for once you should choose one from among the other nations." He even proposed a candidate.

The jesuits for a moment resisted a measure which violated their privileges, but at length they elected the nominee of the pope, Eberhard Mercurianus.

This election immediately caused a considerable change. Mercurianus, a feeble and irresolute man, left the direction of affairs at first to a Spaniard and afterwards to a Frenchman, his salaried and official admonitor: factions arose; the one expelled the other from important offices, and the dominant sometimes experienced resistance from the subordinate.

A far more important circumstance however was, that at the next vacancy, in the year 1581, Claudio Aquaviva, of a Neapolitan family, formerly attached to the French party,—an energetic man only thirty-eight years of age,—was raised to the dignity of general.

The Spaniards were at one time persuaded that their nation, by which the society was founded, and to which it owed its character and direction,

was for ever excluded from the generalship ; they became discontented and disobedient\*, and conceived the project of rendering themselves more independent of Rome, either by the appointment of a commissary-general for the Spanish provinces, or by some other expedient. On the other hand, Aquaviva was not disposed to abate a single jot of the authority with which the letter of the constitution of the order invested him. In order to hold the disaffected in check, he set over them superiors on whose devotion to his person he could rely ; young men who resembled himself in age and modes of thinking† ; and also members of inferior merit, coadjutors, who did not enjoy all the privileges of the order, who beheld in the general their common protector, and were bound to him by national sympathies‡.

\* Mariana, *Discurso de las Enfermedades de la Compañia*, c. xii. “La nacion española està persuadida queda para sempre excluida del generalato. Esta persuasion, sea verdadera sea falsa, no puede dexar de causar disgustos y disunion tanto mas que esta nacion fundò la compañia, la honrò, la enseñò y aun sustentò largo tiempo con su substancia.”

† Mariana, c. xii. “Ponen en los gobiernos homes mozos. . . . porque son mas entremetidos saben lamer a sus tiempos.”

‡ Besides Mariana, the Reports to Clement VIII. contain much that is important on this subject. They are printed in the *Tuba magnum clangens sonum ad Clementem XI.*, p. 583. “Videmus cum magno detrimento religionis nostræ et scandalo mundi quod generalis nulla habita ratione nec antiquitatis nec laborum nec meritorum facit quos vult superiores, et ut plurimum juvenes et novicios, qui sine ullis meritis et sine ulla experientia cum maxima arrogantia præsumunt senioribus : . . . et denique generalis, quia homo est, habet etiam suos affectus particulares, . . . et quia est Neapolitanus, melioris conditionis sunt Neapolitani.”

The aged, learned, and experienced fathers found themselves excluded, not only from the supreme dignity, but even from the provincial appointments. Aquaviva alleged their own defects as the cause; the one was choleric, the other melancholic; “naturally,” says Mariana, “eminent men are wont to be afflicted with some defect.” But the real reason was that he feared them, and wanted to have more convenient tools for the execution of his commands. Generally speaking, there is nothing which men endure with so little patience as the privation of the right of taking an active share in public affairs. Accordingly jealousies and disputes arose in all the colleges. The new superiors were received with silent animosity, and could carry no important point; they were happy if they could but escape trouble and disorders. They had however power enough to revenge themselves. They filled the subordinate posts exclusively with their own personal adherents, who were secured to them by the monarchical constitution of the order, and the ambition of its members; they sent the more obstinate of the recalcitrants to a distance, and, especially when any important deliberation was pending, they removed them to other provinces. Everything was thus resolved into personal offences and retaliations. It was not only the right, but the duty of every member to point out whatever faults he remarked in another; a rule which in the infancy and innocence of a small society might have some tendency to preserve good morals, but in the present state of the order grew into the most odious tale-bearing;

it became an instrument of concealed ambition, of hate clothed in the garb of friendship : were any one to explore the archives of Rome, exclaims Mariana, “ he would probably not find one single honest man,—at least among us who are at a distance ;” an universal distrust reigned among them ; there was not one who would have opened himself unreservedly, even to his own brother.

The evil was increased by Aquaviva’s inflexible determination not to leave Rome, nor to visit the provinces, as Lainez and Borgia had done. The excuse made for this was that it was an advantage to have things stated in writing, in unbroken series, and without the interruptions caused by the accidents of travelling. But the immediate consequence at all events was, that the provincials, in whose hands the whole correspondence rested, thus acquired a greater degree of independence. It was useless to make any complaints of them ; they could easily foresee the representations likely to be made, and defeat their effects beforehand, the more completely in consequence of the favour with which Aquaviva regarded them. Virtually, therefore, they held their places for life.

Under these circumstances, the old jesuits in Spain perceived that a state of things which they felt as a sort of tyranny, was unsusceptible of any change from within the pale of the society, and therefore determined to look around for help from without.

They first addressed themselves to the spiritual authority of their own country—to the inqui-

sition. It is well known that the inquisition had submitted many offences to the judgement of the order. A discontented jesuit, moved, as he declared, by scruples of conscience, accused his order of concealing and even pardoning offences of this nature, provided they were committed by its own members. The inquisition suddenly caused the provincial, who was implicated in a case of this kind, together with one of his most active associates, to be arrested\*. This first step having opened the way to other accusations, the inquisition demanded that the statutes of the order should be laid before it, and proceeded to authorize new arrests. The excitement throughout Spain—the country of orthodox faith—was the more intense from the mystery which enveloped its cause; and from the general belief that the jesuits were arrested on account of some heresy.

The inquisition, however, had no power to make any changes in the constitution of the order; it could only decree the punishment of individual members. Affairs having gone this length, the malcontents addressed themselves to the king, whom they assailed with long and detailed representations of the defects in their constitution. Philip II. had never liked it; he used to say that he could see through all the other orders, that of the jesuits

\* Sacchinus, pars v. lib. vi. n. 85. "Quidam e confessariis seu vere seu falso delatus ad provincialem tum Castellæ, Antonium Marcenium, erat de tentata puellæ per sacras confessiones pudicitia, quod crimen in Hispania sacrorum quæditorum judicio reservabatur."



was the only one he could not understand ; he seemed to be particularly struck with what was told him of the abuse of absolute power, and the mischiefs of secret accusations : in the midst of that mighty European struggle in which he was involved, he found time and thought to devote to this affair, and immediately commissioned Manrique bishop of Carthagená to subject the order to a visitation, especially with reference to these two points.

This was an attack affecting, as we perceive, the character of the institution and of its chief, the more sensibly, because it originated in that very country where the society had sprung up and had first taken root.

Aquaviva betrayed no alarm. He was a man who concealed, beneath great external mildness and amenity of manners, a profound inflexibility ; a character like that of Clement VIII., (in that age not an uncommon one,) distinguished for deliberateness, moderation, prudence, and taciturnity. He never ventured to pronounce a positive judgement ; nor would he even suffer one to be pronounced in his presence,—least of all concerning an entire nation : his secretaries were expressly admonished to avoid every offensive or bitter word. He loved piety even in outward appearance ; his deportment at the altar was expressive of the most serene yet intense enjoyment of the service ; yet he kept aloof from everything approaching to mystical fanaticism. He would not suffer an exposition of Solomon's Song to be printed, because the expressions appeared to him to fluctuate on

the confines of spiritual and sensual love. Even when he censured, he subdued and captivated ; he showed all the superiority of calmness ; he led the erring into the right way by reason and argument, and inspired the young with enthusiastic affection. “ One must love him,” writes Maximilian of Bavaria to his father from Rome, “ if one only looks at him.” These qualities, and his unwearied activity, together with his high birth, and the ever-increasing importance of his order, procured for him an exalted station in Rome. If his adversaries succeeded in gaining over the national authorities of Spain, yet he had the court of Rome on his side ; he had been familiar with that court from his youth upwards (being chamberlain when he entered the order), and knew how to manage it with masterly skill, the result of native talents, strengthened and refined by practice\*.

It was peculiarly easy to excite in a man of the character of Sixtus, antipathies against the measures now pursued by the Spaniards. Pope Sixtus cherished, as we know, the idea of rendering Rome yet more eminently the metropolis of Christendom than it already was ; Aquaviva represented to him that the true and sole object of Spain was to make herself more independent of Rome. Pope Sixtus hated nothing so much as illegitimate birth ; and Aquaviva intimated to him that bishop Manrique, who had been selected to fill the office of visitor, was a bastard. This was reason sufficient for the

\* Sacchinus, and particularly Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu, partis quintæ, tomus posterior, xi. 21, and xxv. 33—41.*

pope to retract the assent he had already given to the visitation. He also evoked the proceedings against the provincial to Rome. Under Gregory XIV. the general succeeded in obtaining a formal confirmation of the institutes of the order.

But the company of Jesus had to contend with artful and obstinate enemies, who saw that the general must be attacked in the very court of Rome. They took advantage of the momentary absence of Aquaviva, who was commissioned to arrange a difference between Mantua and Parma, to gain over Clement VIII. In the summer of 1592, Clement, at the suggestion of the Spanish jesuits and of Philip II., and without the knowledge of Aquaviva, ordered a general congregation to be held.

Astonished and dismayed, Aquaviva hastened back. General congregations were as inconvenient to the chiefs of the jesuits as ecumenical councils to the popes. If all his predecessors had sought to evade them, how much more reason had Aquaviva, who was the object of such universal and active hatred! But he quickly perceived that the arrangements were irrevocable\*; he therefore as-

\* In a Consulta del Padre Cl. Aquaviva coi suoi Padri assistenti, MS. Bibl. Corsini, n. 1055, which relates the details of their internal discord very faithfully on the whole and in conformity with Mariana, Aquaviva is reported to have given the following account of a conversation he had with the pope: "S. S<sup>ta</sup> disse che io non aveva sufficiente notizia de' soggetti della religione, che io veniva ingannato da falsi delatori, che io mi dimostrava troppo credulo." Amongst many other causes which rendered a congregation necessary, this also was alleged: "Perchè molti soggetti di valore, che per non esser conosciuti più che tanto da

sumed an air of composure and said, “ We are dutiful sons ; the will of the holy father be done.” He then hastened to take his measures.

He managed to acquire a great influence in the elections, and had the good fortune to see several of his most formidable antagonists, for example Mariana, rejected even in Spain.

As soon as the congregation was assembled, he did not wait to be attacked. At the very first sitting, he declared that he had had the misfortune to displease some of his brethren, and therefore prayed that an inquiry into his conduct might take precedence of all other business. A commission was appointed ; charges were formally preferred, but it was highly improbable that the violation of any positive law could be proved against him ; he was far too prudent to fall into such an error. The result was his complete and honourable acquittal. Thus personally secure, he proceeded, in concert with the meeting, to the examination of the proposals for the reform of the institute.

Of these king Philip had insisted on some, and recommended others to the deliberation of the assembly. His demands were two : the renunciation of certain papal privileges, e. g. the reading forbidden books, and the granting absolution for heresy ; and a law in virtue of which every novice, on en-

*generalì non hanno mai parte alcuna nel governo, venendo a Roma in occasione delle congregazioni sarebbero meglio conosciuti e per conseguenza verrebbero più facilmente in parte del medesimo governo, senza che questo fosse quasi sempre ristretto a pochi.”*

tering the order, should give up whatever inheritance he might possess, and even all his benefices. These were points on which the company interfered with the inquisition and the civil government. After some demur these demands were, mainly through Aquaviva's own influence, complied with.

Far more weighty, however, were the points which the king had recommended for deliberation; above all, the questions, whether the power of the superiors should not be limited to a certain period? and whether the general congregation should not assemble at stated times? The very nature of the institute, the absolute supremacy of its head, were thus brought into question. On these points Aquaviva was not inclined to give way, and after warm debates the congregation rejected the king's proposition. But the pope too was persuaded of their necessity. What was refused to the king was now commanded by the pope; in virtue of his apostolic omnipotence, he positively ordained that the superiors and the rectors should be changed every third year, and that the general congregation should meet every sixth\*.

It is true, however, that the execution of these ordinances had not all the effect which had been hoped from them. The congregations could be gained over; the rectors were indeed changed, but they were selected out of a narrow circle, so

\* Juvencius, in his first book, which he calls the eleventh, "*Societas domesticis motibus agitata*," gives detailed notices, upon which the account in the text is founded.

that the same men very soon returned to office. But it was at all events a considerable blow to the society, that it had been driven, by internal revolt and external influence, to an alteration of its statutes.

Another storm, too, soon arose in the same quarter.

The jesuits had originally adhered to the doctrines of the Thomists, which at that time generally prevailed, in the schools. Ignatius had expressly recommended his scholars to espouse the system of the angelic doctor.

They however soon thought they perceived that this doctrine would not enable them to attain their end with regard to the protestants. They likewise desired to be as independent in doctrine as in life ; and it was galling to them to follow in the rear of the dominicans, to whose order St. Thomas had belonged, and who were regarded as the natural expositors of his doctrines. They had already given so many proofs of these feelings, that the inquisition had even animadverted on the free opinions of the father jesuits\*, when Aquaviva openly proclaimed those opinions in his Rule of Studies for the year 1584. He gave it as his opinion, that St. Thomas was indeed an author eminently worthy of approbation, but that it would be an intolerable yoke to follow implicitly in his footsteps, and to be debarred from all freedom of thought ; that many old doctrines had been more

\* Lainez himself was suspected by the Spanish inquisition. Llorente, iii. 83.

firmly established by modern theologians, and many new arguments adduced, which were of admirable service in combating the errors of heretics; and that in all such it would be lawful and expedient to follow these doctors.

This sufficed to excite a violent agitation in Spain, where the theological chairs were mostly filled by dominicans. The Rule of Studies was pronounced to be the most audacious, arrogant, dangerous book of its kind; both the king and the pope were attacked for permitting it\*.

But this excitement was greatly increased by the publication of a positive attack on the Thomist system, in one of the most important expository works of the jesuits.

Throughout the whole range of theology, catholic as well as protestant, the questions concerning grace and good works, free-will and predestination, continued to be the most important and the most pregnant with consequences; they still occupied the talents, the erudition, and the speculative acuteness of clergy and of laymen. On the protestant side, Calvin's severe doctrine of the particular decree of God, by which "some were predestined to eternal blessedness and others to eternal damnation," found the greatest acceptance.

\* Pegna, in Serry, *Historia Congregationum de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ*, p. 8: "Y dado a censurar, fue dicho por aquellos censores [Mariana and Serry speak of the inquisition] que aquel libro era el mas peligroso, temerario y arrogante que jamas havia salido in semejante materia, y que si se metia en pratica lo que contenia, causaria infinitos daños y alborotos en la republica christiana."

The lutherans, with their milder system, were at a disadvantage, and lost partisans in various quarters. On the catholic side, the progress of opinion was in the opposite direction. Wherever any leaning even to the most moderate protestant notions, or to a rigid and calvinistic construction of the expositions of St. Augustine, betrayed itself, (as in the case of Bajus at Louvaine,) it was attacked and crushed.

The jesuits showed peculiar zeal in this warfare. They defended the scheme of faith expounded at the council of Trent (which indeed would not have been adopted but for the influence of their brethren Lainez and Salmeron) against every deviation verging towards the rejected and abandoned system. Yet even that scheme did not always satisfy their polemical ardour. In the year 1588, Luis Molina of Evora published a book in which he examined these disputed points afresh, and sought to give a new explanation of the difficulties which remained unsolved\*. The chief scope of his work was to vindicate a yet wider sphere for the free will of man than that claimed by the thomist or the tridentine hypothesis. According to the latter, the work of sanctification was mainly founded on the inherent righteousness of Christ; which being infused into us, engendered love, led to all virtues and good works, and at

\* “*Liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis concordia.*” In all these controversies it has always been thought necessary to distinguish with care the different editions of Lisbon, 1588, Antwerp, 1595, and Venice, as they all vary.



length produced justification. Molina goes much further. His doctrine is, that the free will can, without the help of grace, bring forth morally good works ; that it has the power to resist temptation, and to raise itself to acts of hope, faith, love, and repentance\*. When man has attained to this point, God then, for the sake of the merits of Christ, grants him grace†, through which he experiences the supernatural operations of sanctification ; but the reception of this grace, or its increase, in no way affects the activity or freedom of the will. On this, he maintains, all depends ; it rests with ourselves to render the help of God effectual or ineffectual. Justification is founded on the joint operation of the will and of grace, which combine like two men towing a boat. It is manifest that this scheme is incompatible with the idea of predestination as enounced by Augustine or Thomas Aquinas ; this Molina rejects as too stern and cruel, nor will he admit of any other predestination than that which is involved in the pure idea of foreknowledge. God, he asserts, from his omniscient view of all nature, knows be-

\* 'The " *concursum generalis Dei*" is always presupposed ; but by that is meant only the natural state of the free will, which without God cannot be what it is : " *Deus semper præsto est per concursum generalem libero arbitrio, ut naturaliter velit aut nolit prout placuerit.*" It is nearly thus, that natural and divine law are identified by Bellarmine ; God being the author of nature.

† This grace he also explains very naturally, Disput. 54 : " *Dum homo expendit res credendas . . . . per notitias concionatoris aut aliunde comparatas, influit Deus in easdem notitias influxu quodam particulari quo cognitionem illam adjuvat.*"

forehand the will of every man; what each will do in a given case, although he was free to do the direct contrary: an event does not happen because God foreknew it, but God foresaw it because it would happen.

Molina's doctrine was certainly in direct opposition to that of Calvin, and was likewise the first which attempted to rationalize, if we may use the expression, this great mystery. It is intelligible, acute, and superficial, and therefore could not fail to have considerable success; it may be compared with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which the jesuits promulgated about the same time\*.

By the promulgation of such opinions, they however inevitably provoked opposition, were it only that they departed from the angelic doctor, whose *Summa* still formed the most esteemed elementary book of catholic theologians. Henriquez, Mariana, and certain other members of the order itself,

\* This rationalist tendency appears elsewhere, e. g. in the propositions of the jesuits Less and Hamel in 1585, at Louvaine: "Propositiones in Lessio et Hamelio a theologis Lovaniensibus notatæ: ut quid sit scriptura sacra, non est necessarium singula ejus verba inspirata esse a spiritu sancto." From words they proceed forthwith to truths: "Non est necessarium ut singulae veritates et sententiæ sint immediate a spiritu sancto ipsi scriptori inspiratæ." The main propositions of Molina are to be found already in these essays, at least in part; attention is likewise drawn to the complete difference between them and the protestant opinion: "Hæc sententia . . . quam longissime a sententia Lutheri et Calvinii et reliquorum hæreticorum hujus temporis recedit, a quorum sententia et argumentis difficile est alteram sententiam [the augustine and thomist] vindicare."

openly expressed their censure. The dominicans, however, engaged with far greater fervour in the defence of their patriarch, and attacked Molina in their sermons, lectures, and writings. At length on the 4th of March, 1594, a public disputation was held between the two parties in Valladolid. The dominicans, who thought themselves exclusively orthodox, were extremely violent. "Are then," exclaimed a jesuit, "the keys of wisdom in your hands?" The dominicans regarded this as an attack upon St. Thomas himself, and broke out into loud cries.

From that time a complete division arose between the two orders. The dominicans would have nothing more to do with the jesuits, a large majority of whom, if not all, took part with Molina. Aquaviva himself and his assistants were of the number.

But here again the inquisition interposed. The grand inquisitor (that Geronimo Manrique who had been appointed visitor of the order) seemed inclined to condemn Molina; he caused him to be admonished that his book would not only be prohibited, but condemned to the flames. He refused to receive Molina's charges against the dominicans.

· This controversy threw the whole catholic world into agitation, both on account of the doctrines and their champions, and greatly strengthened that active hostility to the institute of the jesuits which had arisen in Spain.

Hence arose the strange anomaly, that whilst

the jesuits were driven out of France on account of their leaning to Spain, the most formidable attack upon them originated in Spain itself. In both countries political and religious interests were actively at work. The political movement was in both, in effect, the same,—namely, a national opposition to the privileges and franchises of this order ; but in France it was more fierce and violent, in Spain, more directed against its peculiar institutions and abuses. As far as doctrine was concerned, it was the novelty of their opinions which had brought hatred and persecution on the jesuits ; their doctrines of the sovereignty of the people and the lawfulness of assassinating kings, were ruinous to them in France ; that of free will in Spain.

This was a moment in the history of the company which was of the utmost importance in determining its future destiny.

Aquaviva sought aid against the assaults of the national authorities, the parliament and the inquisition in the head of the church,—the sovereign pontiff.

He availed himself of the favourable moment when the grand inquisitor had just died and his place was not yet filled, to induce the pope to evoke the decision of the disputed points of faith to Rome. Much was gained even by a momentary procrastination of the decision, for Rome abounded with various sorts of influences which might be turned to account at any critical moment. On the 9th of October, 1596, the acts relating to the proceedings were forwarded to Rome, where the most

learned theologians on either side met to fight out their battle under the eyes of the pope\*.

On the French question Clement took part with the jesuits. He deemed it unjustifiable on account of the delinquency of one man who might have deserved punishment, to condemn an entire order; the order too which had contributed the most to the restoration of catholicism—which had been so firm a prop of the church. Did not the jesuits suffer for their devoted attachment to the papal see? for the eagerness with which they had combated in defence of the claims of Rome against the mightiest powers of the earth? It was of the last importance to the pope to put an end to the opposition which France still maintained against him. The more intimate the alliance which he could form with Henry IV., and the more consonant their respective systems of policy, the more weight would his representations have: every successive communication from Henry was conceived in a more conciliatory and yielding spirit\*.

\* Pegna, “*Rotæ Romanæ decanus istarum rerum testis locupletissimus*,” as he is called by Serry. “*Cerniendo (Molina) lo que verisimilmente podia suceder de que su libro fuese prohibido y quemado, porque assi se lo avia asomado el inquisitor general, luego lo avisò a Roma, donde por obra y negociacion de su general su santidad avocò a se esta causa, ordenando a la inquisicion general que no la concluyesse ni diesse sententia.*”

† The jesuits wished to deny that their affairs had become connected with politics; but it appears from Bentivoglio, *Memorie*, ii. 6. p. 395, how carefully cardinal Aldobrandino kept in view their interest during the transactions at Lyons; and the king at that very time made a declaration in their favour. (*Le Roi au Card<sup>l</sup> Ossat*, 20 Janv. 1601.)

The pope's measures in favour of the jesuits were vastly facilitated by their discreet and considerate conduct.

They were careful not to betray any irritation or aversion against the king of France, nor were they inclined to rush into any further danger in behalf of the lost cause of the League ; as soon as they perceived the turn which the pope's policy had taken, they adopted a similar one. Father Commolet, who, even after the conversion of Henry IV., had exclaimed from the pulpit that it was needful that some Ehud should arise against him, and who had been compelled to flee before the victorious monarch, changed his opinion on his arrival at Rome. Even he declared in favour of the king's absolution. Amongst all the cardinals, there was none who, by prudent concessions, conciliatory measures, and personal influence with the pope, contributed so much to obtain this absolution as the jesuit Toledo\*. Such was the conduct of the members of the company of Jesus while the parliament was still passing new edicts against them ; edicts of which Aquaviva complained, but without suffering himself to be hurried by them into violence or intemperate zeal. It had been impossible to expel all the jesuits ; those who remained now declared for the king, and admonished the people to love him and be faithful to him. Some were already eagerly returning to fill the deserted places ; but

\* Du Perron à Villeroy, Ambassades, i. 23 : “ Seulement vous diray-je que M<sup>r</sup> le C<sup>l</sup> Tolet a fait des miracles, et s'est montré bon Français.”

Aquaviva refused to sanction this, and desired them to await the king's permission. Care was taken that both these circumstances should come to the king's ears, upon which he was greatly delighted, and expressed his gratitude to the general in autograph letters. The jesuits did not neglect to confirm him in these favourable dispositions. Father Rocheome, who was called the French Cicero, composed a popular apology for the order, the arguments in which were particularly convincing to the king\*.

These combined efforts of the pope and the order received additional strength from the political views of Henry himself. He saw, as he says in one of his despatches, that by persecuting a society which numbered in its ranks so many men of talent and learning,—which had so much power and so large a following,—he would create irreconcilable enemies and give occasion to conspiracies amongst the still numerous class of zealous catholics. He saw that he could not drive the jesuits out of those places in which they still maintained their ground; while, by attempting to do so, he would have run the risk of exciting popular commotions†. Besides this, Henry had made such large concessions to the huguenots by the edict of Nantes, that he owed some fresh guarantee to the catholics.

\* Gretser has translated them into Latin for the benefit of those not understanding French. *Gretseri Opera*, tom. xi. p. 280.

† *Dispaccio del re de' 15 Agosto, 1603, al re Jacopo d' Inghilterra*; abridged in *Siri, Memorie recondite*, i. p. 247.

Murmurs were already heard in Rome, and the pope sometimes hinted that he feared he had been deceived\*. At length, however, the king stood on so commanding a height that he could take a more comprehensive view of the situation of things than his parliament, and had no need to fear the connexion of the jesuits with Spain. Father Lorenzo Maggio hastened, in the name of the general, to France, to assure the king with the most solemn oaths of the fidelity of the society. “If anything happens to prove the contrary,” said he, “let me and my brethren be accounted the blackest traitors†.” The king thought it more prudent to put their friendship than their enmity to the trial. He perceived that he might make them subserve his own interests against Spain‡.

Influenced by so many motives of external policy and internal necessity, the king declared himself, during the negotiations at Lyons in the year 1600, ready to admit the order into his dominions. He chose the jesuit Cotton for his own confessor; and after various other indications of favour had prepared the public mind for what was to follow, he published, in September, 1603, the edict by which the order of jesuits was re-established in France. They were subjected to certain conditions; the most important of which was, that not only the superiors, but all the members of the society in France,

\* Ossat à Villeroy, i. 503.

† Sully, lib. xvii. p. 307.

‡ “Riconobbe chiaramente d’esserne per ritrarre servizio e contentamento in varie occorrenze a prò proprio e de’ suoi amici contra gli Spagnoli stessi.” (Dispaccio, Siri.)



must for the future be Frenchmen\*. Henry doubted not that he had arranged everything in such a manner as to justify his entire confidence.

He granted them his favour frankly and without reservation, and lent them his assistance in their own affairs,—especially in their dispute with the dominicans.

Clement VIII. displayed a lively theological interest in this controversy. Sixty-five meetings and thirty-seven disputations on all the points which could possibly come under discussion, were held in his presence; he wrote a good deal on the subject himself, and, as far as we can judge, he inclined to the traditional scheme of faith, and would have decided in favour of the dominicans. Bellarmine himself said, that he did not deny the pope's inclination to declare himself against the jesuits, but that nevertheless he knew he would not act upon it. It would have been too perilous, at a time when the jesuits were the most eminent apostles of the faith throughout the world, to break with them on account of one article of that faith; indeed, they already talked of demanding a council: the pope is said to have exclaimed, “They dare everything—everything†!”

\* *Edictum Regium*, in *Juvencius*, p. v. lib. xii. n. 59. In *Juvencius* is to be found everything said at that time in favour of the jesuits; and in the *Historia Jesuitica Basileæ*, by *Ludovicus Lucius*, 1627, lib. ii. c. ii., everything that was said in their disparagement. From neither do we learn the decisive causes which turned the scale in their favour; they are however more nearly indicated by their apologist than by their accuser.

† *Serry*, 271. *Contarini* also maintains that they had indulged in

It would also have involved him in disagreements with the French, who were their decided supporters. Henry IV. was on their side; either because their system of opinions was more congenial to his mind—which is certainly possible; or because he wished to show peculiar approbation to that order which made war upon protestantism, that so he might place his orthodoxy beyond the reach of doubt. Cardinal du Perron took part in the congregations, and sustained the jesuit party with dexterous zeal. He told the pope that a protestant might subscribe the creed of the dominicans; and it is not impossible that these words made some impression on Clement.

The great contest between France and Spain which agitated the world was likewise blended with these dissensions. The dominicans received as cordial support from the Spaniards as the jesuits from the French\*.

threats: “Portata la disputatione a Roma ventilata tra theologi, il papa e la maggior parte de’ consultori inclinavano nell’opinione di Domenicani. Ma li Gesuiti, vedendosi in pericolo di cader da quel credito per il quale pretendono d’haver il primo luogo di dottrina nella chiesa catolica, erano risoluti di mover ogni macchina per non ricever il colpo.” The doctrine which, according to Contarini, they threaten is, that the pope was undoubtedly infallible, but that it was no article of their faith to acknowledge one man or another for the true pope. “La potenza di questi e l’autorità di chi si proteggeva era tanta che ogni cosa era dissimulata e si mostrava di non sentirlo e sopra diffinire della controversia si andava temporeggiando per non tirarsi adosso carica maggiore.”

\* Principal passage in du Perron, *Ambassades et Negotiations*, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 839. Lettre du 23 Janv. 1606: “Les Espagnols font profession ouvertement de proteger les Jacobins [domini-

Hence it happened that Clement eventually came to no decision. To offend either of these influential orders, or either of these puissant kings, would have involved him in fresh perplexities.

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#### § 10. POLITICAL SITUATION OF CLEMENT VIII.

It was indeed now one of the chief cares of the papal see to alienate neither of the great powers in whose hands rested the balance of the catholic world; to appease their mutual differences, or at least never to allow them to break out into open war; and while thus mediating between them, to preserve its influence over both.

The papacy here appears to us employed in its highest vocation—as mediator and peacemaker.

The world was mainly indebted to Clement VIII. for the peace of Vervins, which was concluded on the 2nd of May, 1598. He seized the favourable moment when the king of France was constrained

*cans], en haine, comme je croy, de l'affection que le pere general des Jesuites et presque tous ceux de son ordre, excepté ceux qui dependent des peres Mendozze et Personius comme particuliere-ment les Jesuites Anglois, ont montré de porter à vostre majesté: et semble que d'une dispute de religion ils en veulent faire une querelle d'estat."* This shows that, a small fraction excepted, the jesuits were held to incline to the French party. In Serry, p. 440, we find, that the dominicans were at that time excluded from the French court: "*Prædicatores tum temporis in Gallia minus accepti et a publicis curiæ muneribus nuper amoti."*

by his disordered finances, and the king of Spain by the increasing feebleness of age, to think of some accommodation. He prepared the preliminaries, and made the first overtures; while the general of the franciscans, Fra Bonaventura Calatagirona, whom he had fortunately selected for this business and had sent to France, removed the first and greatest obstacles. The Spaniards were in possession of a number of strong places in France; they were ready to give them all up with the single exception of Calais; the French, on the other hand, insisted on the restitution of Calais also, and it was Fra Calatagirona who prevailed on the Spaniards to cede it. It was not till this point was gained that the negotiations at Vervins were formally opened. A legate and a nuncio presided over them; the franciscan general continued to mediate with consummate address, and even his secretary Soto acquired no little credit by his share in the transactions. The main thing was to induce the king of France to separate himself from his allies, England and Holland. This was regarded as an advantage to catholicism, since it seemed to complete the secession of Henry IV. from the protestant cause. After long hesitation Henry consented, upon which the Spaniards gave up all their conquests; they were restored to the power which had possession of them in the year 1559. The legate declared that his holiness would feel a greater pleasure at this restitution, than even at the acquisition of Ferrara; that a peace embracing and tranquillizing all Christendom, was far

more important in his eyes than that temporal conquest\*.

At this peace there was but one point which remained unsettled,—the dispute between Savoy and France.

The duke of Savoy had, as we mentioned, taken forcible possession of Saluzzo, and could not be prevailed on to give it up again ; after many fruitless negotiations Henry IV. at length had recourse to arms. The pope, to whom the mediation of this affair had previously been expressly committed at Vervins, had the greatest possible interest in restoring peace, which he urged at every opportunity and in every audience ; every time the king sent him assurances of his devotedness, he demanded this peace as a proof of the sincerity of these professions,—as a favour which must be granted to himself. The real difficulty lay in the apparent prejudice to Italian interests generally from the restitution of Saluzzo, and in the unwillingness of the Italians that the French should possess a province in Italy. The expedient of leaving the duke in possession of Saluzzo and indemnifying France by the cession of Bresse and certain neighbouring Savoyard districts, was, as far as I can discover, first proposed by the minorite Calatagirona†. In the

\* At the end of the edition of the *Mémoires d'Angoulême*, Didot, 1756, there is, i. 131—363, under the title of *Autres Mémoires*, a circumstantial account of the negotiations at Vervins, distinguished for its accuracy and impartiality : the accounts I have given are derived from it ; the last in p. 337.

† Ossat to Villeroy, March 25, 1599.

year 1600, cardinal Aldobrandino had the merit of reducing this proposal to a positive agreement at Lyons. The French were grateful to him for his successful negotiation, since Lyons thus acquired a more extended boundary, which had long been the object of her desire\*.

Under these auspicious circumstances, pope Clement occasionally cherished the idea of turning the forces of the whole catholic world, now reunited under his authority, against the ancient and hereditary foe of Christendom. A Turkish war had broken out anew in Hungary; even at that time people thought they perceived symptoms of declining strength in the Ottoman empire; and the personal inefficiency of the sultans, the influence of the seraglio, and the incessant revolts of the people, especially in Asia, seemed to justify the belief that some attack upon Turkey might now be attempted with success. The pope at least gave the project his strenuous support. As early as the year 1599, the sum which he had applied to this purpose amounted to a million and a half of scudi, and shortly afterwards we find a papal army of 12,000 men on the Danube. But far more momentous consequences might be anticipated when once the powers of the west should combine on a large scale for an expedition against the east, especially if Henry IV. could be brought to add his forces to those of Austria. The pope was indefatigable in his exhortations, and in fact Henry wrote immediately after the peace of

\* Bentivoglio gives (in the principal part of the second book of his *Memorie*, c. 2.—c. 6.) these transactions in detail.

Vervins to the Venetians, that he hoped in a short time to embark at Venice, like the French captains of old, on an expedition against Constantinople. He repeated his promise to that effect at the ratification of the peace with Savoy\*. But unquestionably the execution of such an undertaking must have been preceded by a more sincere and cordial friendship than was possible after so violent a shock of interests and passions.

On the other hand, the animosities and rivalries which still subsisted between the two greatest powers, were more than once advantageous to the pope's interests. Pope Clement had indeed occasion once more to turn them to account in the affairs of the ecclesiastical states.

In the midst of these brilliant achievements and successes abroad, Clement exercised a rigorous and very monarchical power in his own states.

The new constitution which Sixtus V. had given to the college of cardinals, appeared to him necessary in order to give it a due and regular influence in public business. But form is not substance; and the very contrary to his expectations took place. The tedious course of law proceedings, and the cumbrousness and immobility to which a deliberative body is condemned, (chiefly from the diversity of opinions it comprises,) rendered it impossible to Clement VIII. to confide important business to the congregations. At first he consulted them, though

\* Lettre du Roy, in the appendix to the second volume of Ossat's Letters, p. 11.

he often departed from their decisions ; then he only communicated affairs to them immediately before they were concluded ; in short the consistories served rather for giving publicity than for consultation, till at length he employed them only on subordinate matters or mere formalities\*.

It is not to be disputed that the new turn which Clement gave to the policy of the court of Rome, rendered this curtailment of the powers of the congregations almost inevitable, yet it was not a little prompted by his inclination for absolute power. The administration of the country was carried on in the same spirit ; new taxes were imposed without the slightest inquiry into the resources of the country ; the revenues of the communes were placed under special supervision ; the barons were subjected to the rigorous operation of the laws, and not the slightest deference was paid to aristocratic descent or privileges.

As long as the pope conducted all public business himself, this worked well. The cardinals, at least, although their thoughts were not all on the surface, were full of admiration and subsiveness.

\* Delfino : “ Ora li consistorj non servono per altro che per comunicare in essi la collation delle chiese e per publicar le resolutioni d’ ogni qualità fatte dal papa e le congregazioni, da quella dell’ inquisitione in poi che si è pur conservata in qualche decoro e si riduce ogni settimana, tutte le altre, anche quelle che sono de’ regolari e de’ vescovi, sono in sola apparenza : perchè se bene risolvono ad un modo, il papa eseguisce ad un altro e nelle cose più importanti, come nel dar ajuto a principi, di spedir legati, dichiarar capi.”



Gradually, however, as the pope advanced in age, the real possession and exercise of this monarchical power devolved on his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandino. He was the son of that Pietro Aldobrandino who had distinguished himself, among the remarkable band of brothers to which he belonged, by his practical talents as a lawyer. At the first glance he promised little. His person was insignificant, he was marked with the smallpox, he had an asthma and coughed incessantly, and in his youth he had made no great proficiency in his studies. As soon, however, as his uncle took him into public business, he showed an address and ability which no one expected from him. Not only did he know how to adapt himself to the character of the pope, and, if we may use the expression, to fill up its deficiencies, to soften its asperities, and to render less conspicuous and less mischievous the weaknesses which gradually appeared in it\*, but he won the confidence and approbation of foreign ambassadors to such a degree, that they all desired to see political affairs in his hands. It was originally intended that he should divide them with his cousin Cinthio, who was also a man of some talents, especially for literature ; but Pietro soon shook off his associate in power. In the year 1603, the cardinal was omnipotent at court. “ All negotiations,” says a report of that year, “ all favour and patronage originate with him ; prelates, nobles, courtiers,

\* *Relatione al Cl. Este.* “ Dove il papa inasprisce, Aldobrandino mitiga : dove rompe, consolida : dove comanda giustizia, intercede per gratia.”

ambassadors throng to his house. It may be said that everything passes through his ear, and is determined by his opinion ; that every project is proclaimed through his mouth, and executed by his hands\*.”

Such a power as this, so unlimited, so all-pervading, and at the same time with so little claim to legitimacy, whatever friends it might find, inevitably excited in the majority a profound though secret feeling of discontent. A slight incident afforded an occasion for this feeling to break out into open resistance.

A man who had been arrested for debt, seized the moment when the *sbirri* were leading him past the Farnese palace, to throw off his chains and rush into it for shelter. The popes had long refused to recognise the right of the great families of Rome to grant asylum to malefactors in their houses. Cardinal Farnese, though connected with the pope by the marriage of an Aldobrandino into his family, now reasserted that right. He ordered his people to drive out the *sbirri*, who wanted to search the palace for their prisoner ; he told the governor, who sought to interpose his authority, that it was not the custom of his house to give up

\* “ *Orbis in urbe.*” Yet even Aldobrandino was subject to secret influences. “ *Ha diversi servitori,*” says the same narrative, “ *ma quel che assorbe i favori di tutti, è il cav. Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a quel grado di privatissima fortuna, e che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta : così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l’ uno della gratia del cardinale, l’ altro della provisione d’ officj e delle maggiori espeditioni.*”

the accused; he peremptorily refused the mediation of cardinal Aldobrandino, who, wishing to avoid scandal, came himself to arrange the affair amicably; and told him that after the death of the pope, which might soon be looked for, a Farnese would be of more importance than an Aldobrandino.

What mainly gave him courage for so daring a defiance of the pope's power, was his connexion with the Spaniards. Henry IV.'s cession of Saluzzo (which had been regarded at Rome as rather poor-spirited) had led to the inference that he would not meddle in Italian affairs. This had raised the importance of Spain again in public estimation, and as the Aldobrandini manifested so strong a leaning towards France, their antagonists attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassador Viglienna, gave his entire approbation to Farnese's conduct in this affair\*.

What more could be wanting than the support of a foreign power and the protection of a great family, to bring to an open explosion the discontent of the Roman nobles? Cavalieri and nobili thronged to the Farnese palace; some cardinals joined them openly, others favoured them secretly†. There was

\* Contarini, *Historia Veneta*, tom. iii. lib. xiii. MS., amongst all the authors of the time, the most circumstantial and worthy of credit on this subject: "Viglienna mandò ordine a tutti i baroni e cavalieri Romani obligati alla corona che per servitio del re fossero immediate nella casa del cardinal Farnese."

† Contarini: "Diede grand' assenso al fatto la venuta de' cardinali Sfondrato e Santiquatro, che niente mirarono trattandosi di Spagna al debito de' cardinali verso il papa: ed a questi che

an universal outcry that the pope and the church must be emancipated from the thraldom they were in to cardinal Aldobrandino. On the pope ordering troops to Rome, the Spanish ambassador promised subsidies to the conspirators, and advised them to call in some armed bands which just then appeared on the Neapolitan frontier. But little was wanting to cause the outbreak of an open feud, in the spirit of past ages, within the walls of Rome itself.

But cardinal Farnese would not suffer things to proceed to such an extremity. It was enough for him to have proved his independence, his power, and the possibility of resistance. He determined to retire to Castro, his own estate. He executed this in a grand style. He secured one gate, caused troops to be posted at it, and then left the city, escorted by a retinue of ten carriages and three hundred horsemen. He had indeed gained all he wanted; this display of insubordination answered his ends; a formal negotiation was set on foot; the pope's party affected to believe that the whole blame rested with the governor, and made a show of effecting a reconciliation between him and the house of Farnese. The cardinal then returned, with not less pomp and splendour than had marked his departure. Every street, window, and roof was filled with people, and never, in the time of their

*apertamente si dichiaravano diversi altri in occulto aderivano, tra' quali il cl. Conti.—Ma il popolo, la plebe senza nome, sempre avida di cangiar stato, favoriva al cardinale, e per le piazze, per le strade a gran caterve applaudevano al partito di lui."*

greatest power, were the Farnesi so brilliantly received, or greeted with such loud acclamations\*.

But it was not only weakness or forced compliance which led cardinal Aldobrandino to permit this triumphal entry to take place; the Farnesi were after all near kinsfolk of the papal house; neither would it have answered any end to display implacable resentment; the main thing was to remove the cause of the evil, which lay in political circumstances. It was impossible to obtain from the Spaniards any alteration of their system, or even the recall of so troublesome an ambassador; Aldobrandino's only resource therefore was, to inspire Henry IV. with a lively interest in Italian affairs.

The arrival, in December 1604, of three French cardinals at once, all distinguished men, was as refreshing to him, say his enemies, as a cool and gentle breeze in a scorching day. It was once more practicable to form a French party in Rome. The new-comers were received with joy, and the signora Olympia, the cardinal's sister, declared to them a thousand times that her house would place itself unconditionally under French protection. Baronius declared that his historical researches had proved to him that the Roman see was more indebted to the French

\* Contarini: "S' inviò in Roma entrando in guisa trionfante con clamori popolari che andavano al cielo, incontrato in forma di re dall' ambasciator di Cesare, di Spagna, dalli cardinali Sfondrato, Santiquatro, San Cesareo e Conti, dal general Georgio suo cognato, tutta la cavalleria e tutte le guardie del papa, confluendo li cavalieri e baroni."

nation than to any other; when he saw a picture of the king he broke out into a shout of delight. He endeavoured to discover whether after the cession of Saluzzo there was no other pass of the Alps remaining in the hands of the French. Now Baronius was not merely a writer of history, he was the pope's confessor and saw him every day; and however circumspect and reserved the pope and Aldobrandino might be, the effect was the same, so long as their nearest followers expressed themselves so openly, since they were supposed to repeat the sentiments of their master. As Henry at length resolved to grant pensions, he had soon a party strong enough to counterbalance that of Spain.

But Aldobrandino's views reached much further. He often represented to the Venetian ambassadors and cardinals the necessity of setting bounds to the arrogance of the Spaniards. "Can it be endured," he said, "that they should rule in the house of another in his own despite\*?" It might indeed be dangerous for one who would soon have to return to private life, to draw upon himself the ill-will of that power; but his honour would not permit him to endure that the papacy should lose anything of its reputation under his uncle. In short he proposed to the Venetians a union of the Italian states, under French protection, against Spain.

Already too he had entered into negotiations with the other states. He did not love Tuscany,

\* Du Perron au Roi, 25 Janv. 1605. (Ambass. i. 509.)

with Modena he had continual disputes, Parma was implicated in the transactions of cardinal Farnese ; but he seemed to forget all these things for the sake of avenging himself on Spain. To this object he devoted himself with passion ; he spoke of nothing else, he appeared to think of nothing else. In order to be nearer to the states with which he wished to combine, he repaired to Ancona in the beginning of the year 1605.

He had as yet accomplished nothing, when his uncle died, on the 5th of March, 1605, and with him ended his power.

Meanwhile the stimulus given to public opinion, and the industrious revival of French influence in Rome and Italy, were already of considerable importance. They marked a tendency of the general policy of the Aldobrandini.

We shall not, I think, be over-refining, if we trace the causes of this policy to the original situation of that family in Florence. It had always belonged to the French party. Messer Salvestro had been an active leader in the commotion in the year 1527, in which the Medici were exiled, and the French called in. Accordingly when his enemies, the Spaniards and the Medici, remained masters of the field, he had to pay the penalty of his hostility, and to quit his country. Was it likely that pope Clement would forget this ? that he would love the Spaniards and the Medici ? He was naturally of a close, reserved temper ; on the rare occasions when he opened himself to his intimate friends, he uttered

this maxim : “ Ask your forefathers, and they will show you the way in which you should go\*.” It is certain that he once had the view of reforming the state of Florence, as he expressed himself. His partiality to France is obvious ; he found the papacy in the strictest alliance with Spain, he led it to the verge of a union with France against Spain. If the restoration of a national power in France was for the interests of the church, it was at the same time with Clement an affair of inclination,—a personal satisfaction. Nevertheless he was cautious, provident, guarded ; he attempted nothing that he could not carry through. Instead of reforming Florence, he reformed, as a Venetian said, his own thoughts ; when he saw that it could not be done without universal danger, he abandoned it†. It never was his intention to invite the French arms into Italy. He was satisfied with restoring the equilibrium, emancipating himself from the tyranny of Spain, and giving a wider basis to ecclesiastical policy ; peaceably, gradually, without noise or convulsion, but so much the more securely.

\* Delfino : “ La poca inclinatione che per natura e per heredità ha il papa a Spagnoli.”

† Venier : “ Vedendo le preparazioni e resolutioni di V<sup>ra</sup> S<sup>a</sup> et anco del granduca e che la nostra republica s’ era dichiarata col mandar un ambasciatore espresso per questo negotio a S. S<sup>a</sup>, conoscendo ella che si sarebbe acceso un gran fuoco in Italia e con pericolo di gravissimo incendio della chiesa, in luogo di tentar la riforma dello stato di Firenze riformò i suoi pensieri.”

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## § 11. ELECTION AND FIRST PROCEEDINGS OF PAUL V.

The influence of the French manifested itself in the very next conclave, and, when Aldobrandino joined them, became irresistible. They raised to the papal dignity a cardinal whom the king of Spain had expressly excluded,—a Medici, nearly related to the queen of France. The letters in which Du Perron announces this unexpected event to Henry IV. are full of exultation, and the accession of the new pope was celebrated in France with public rejoicings\*. The triumph, however, was short, for Leo XI. survived his election only twenty-six days ; it is asserted that the weight of his new dignity, and the feeling of the arduousness of the office imposed upon him, extinguished vital powers already enfeebled by age.

The contest at the new election raged with greater violence than before, from the circumstance that Aldobrandino was no longer in such close connexion with the French, and was powerfully opposed by Montalto. As at some former elections, a contest ensued between the creatures of the last pope and

\* Histoire de la Vie de Messire Philippe de Mornay Seigneur du Plessis, p. 305 : “ Ce pape de la maison des Medicis, dit Leon XI., qui avoit cousté au roi 300,000 escus à faire, en la faveur duquel il faisoit grand fondement, et pour l’élection duquel par un exemple nouveau furent faits feux de joye et tiré le canon en France, qui vescu peu de jours et ne laissa au roy que le reproche par ies Espagnols d’une largesse si mal employée et le doute de rencontrer une succession, comme il advint, plus favorable à l’Espagnol.”

those of his predecessor. Each of these party leaders, surrounded by his followers, conducted his chosen candidate to one of the chapels, and proposed him in opposition to the other party; attempts were made to elect several in succession. Baronius, in spite of the most violent resistance on his part, was dragged to the Capella Paolina; but the opposition only seemed more furious each time, nor could either party succeed in carrying the election of any one of its candidates. The election of a pope, like most other successes of the kind, was gradually determined by the question, who had the fewest enemies, not who could plead the most merits.

At length amongst his uncle's creatures, Aldobrandino cast his eyes upon a man who had succeeded in conciliating general favour, and in avoiding all dangerous enmities,—cardinal Borghese. He contrived to enlist on his side the French, who had already partially effected a reconciliation between Montalto and Aldobrandino; Montalto therefore gave his vote to Borghese, who was accordingly elected before the Spaniards even knew that he was proposed (May 16, 1605)\*.

We have here a fresh example of the rule we formerly remarked; the kinsman of the last pope decided the choice of the new one. The Borghesi

\* Still it may have also been, that Montalto and Aldobrandino first came to an agreement about Borghese. *Conclave di Paolo V.* p. 370; it is there said of both, “Dopo d' haver proposti molti, elessero Borghese, amico di Montalto e creatura confidente di Aldobrandino.”

too were originally in a similar position with the Aldobrandini; they had quitted Siena, as the latter had abandoned Florence, in order to escape the domination of the Medici. From these causes it appeared evident that the new government must be a direct continuation of the preceding.

Paul V., however, immediately on his election, betrayed a harsh and eccentric disposition.

From the situation of an advocate, he had risen through every step of clerical dignity\*; he had been vice-legate at Bologna, *auditore di camera*, vicar of the pope, and inquisitor. He had lived in seclusion, buried in his books and deeds, and had never taken part in any political affairs; hence he had incurred no personal or active hostilities. No party beheld in him an antagonist; neither Aldobrandino nor Montalto, neither French nor Spaniards, had experienced or feared his opposition; and this was the quality that gained him the tiara.

He, however, took a totally different view of his own success. That he should have attained the dignity of pope without any effort of his own, without employing any arts or intrigues, appeared to him an effect of the immediate interposition of the Holy Ghost. He felt raised above himself by it; the entire change in his air and demeanor, in his ges-

\* *Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori mandati a Roma, 15 Genn. 1605, m. V., i. e. 1606.* “ Il padre Camillo non volendo più habitare Siena caduta della libertà, se ne andò a Roma. Di buono spirito, d'ingegno acuto, riuscì nella professione d'avvocato. . . . Il papa non vuol esser Sanese ma Romano.”

tures and tone of voice, astonished even a court so familiar with metamorphoses of all kinds. He also felt the whole weight of his duties and obligations, and proposed to himself to administer the supreme power with the same uncompromising rigour he had shown in adhering to the letter of the law in all his former offices.

Other popes had usually signalized their accession by some act of mercy. Paul V., on the contrary, began his reign by passing a sentence which even to this day excites horror.

A poor author named Piccinardi, a native of Cremona, out of revenge for some real or supposed injury, had employed his solitary hours in writing a biography of Clement VIII., in which he compared that pope to Tiberius,—small as is the resemblance between those two rulers. Not only had Piccinardi never allowed this singular work to be printed, but he had kept it to himself, and communicated it to scarcely any one ; a woman who had formerly lived in his house gave information of its existence. Paul V. at first expressed himself very calmly on the subject, and, as several powerful persons and even ambassadors used their influence in the author's behalf, he seemed to have little to fear. The universal astonishment may be imagined, when one day Piccinardi was brought out and beheaded on the bridge of St. Angelo. Whatever might be said in palliation of his offence, it is undeniable that he had committed the crime of high treason, to which the laws awarded the punishment of death. No mercy could be hoped from a pope like Paul ; even

the unfortunate man's small pittance was confiscated\*.

At court the pope immediately re-established the rules of the council of Trent with regard to residence ; he pronounced it a deadly sin for a bishop to live out of his diocese while enjoying its revenues. He did not even except the cardinals, nor would he allow a place in the administration of public affairs as an excuse. Many retired to their sees ; others only petitioned for delay† ; while others again, rather than either quit Rome or be thought regardless of their duty, sent in their resignation.

But the most serious evil was, that he had imbibed from his canonical studies the most exaggerated ideas of the importance of the papacy. He maintained in its fullest significance the doctrine that the pope was the sole vicegerent of Jesus Christ ; that the power of the keys was confided implicitly to his discretion, and that he was to be revered by all nations and sovereigns in profound humility‡. He said he had been raised to the

\* The four ambassadors mentioned in the last note relate this incident ; “ *si congettura,*” they add, “ *fondatamente che abbi ad esser il pontefice severo e rigorosissimo et inexorabile in fatto di giustitia.*”

† Du Perron à Villeroy, 17 May, 1606. “ *Le pape ayant fait entendre ces jours passez que sa volonté estoit que tous les cardinaux qui avoient des eveschez y allassent ou bien les resignassent ou y missent des coadjuteurs, . . . j'ay pensé. . . .*”

‡ *Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori* : “ *Conoscendo il pontefice presente sua grandezza spirituale, e quanto se le debba da tutti li popoli christiani attribuir di ossequio e di obediienza, non eccettuando qualsivoglia grandissimo principe.*”

papal seat, not by men, but by the Holy Spirit, which imposed upon him the duties of protecting the immunities of the church and executing the judgements of God; and that he was bound in conscience to exert all his powers to deliver the church from usurpation and oppression: for this he would rather risk his life, than hereafter, when he had to appear before the judgement-seat of God, be called to account for a single neglect of his duty.

With lawyer-like keenness he assumed that the rights of the church were commensurate with her claims, and looked upon it as a matter of conscience to maintain and renew them in all their strictness.

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## § 12. DISPUTES BETWEEN ROME AND VENICE.

From the time that the papal power had succeeded in making head against protestantism, and had brought into fresh activity the ideas on which the hierarchy is mainly founded, it had also successfully reasserted all its canonical rights with relation to the internal affairs of catholic states.

In subduing her adversaries, the church increased her authority over her adherents.

As soon as the bishops had been constrained to a more perfect obedience, the monastic orders closely united to the curia, and all reforms made in a spirit calculated to advance the supreme power of the pope, regular nuntiatures arose in all the

capitals of Europe, and combined with the dignity of an embassy from an influential power, a jurisdiction which enabled them to exercise an important control over all the most momentous affairs of public and private life.

But even where the church had re-established herself in unison with the state, and where they had employed their combined powers for the suppression of protestant opinions, this very connexion between them soon produced disagreements.

At that time, as indeed at the present day, the court of Rome was extremely attentive to the maintenance of all its claims in Italy ; we find the Italian states involved in interminable disputes with the church from this cause. The ancient struggles between the popes and those states had not been put an end to, either in general, by a decisive principle, or in detail, by treaty and agreement. The popes themselves differed in their conduct on this point. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. (in the former half of his reign at least) were the most obstinate in the assertion of their claims ; Sixtus V. was in several instances far more yielding. The policy of the states and of their envoys was, to get over the moments of difficulty without prejudice to themselves, and to turn the favourable ones to account ;—a line of conduct which can never entirely fail of success : the inclinations of individual popes changed and passed away, but the interests of states remained unaltered. At all events the questions to be resolved thus fell far less within the province of the canon law and legal interpretation, than within that of

policy, and the adjustment of mutual demands and concessions.

Pope Paul V., however, viewed his rights in a thoroughly lawyer-like manner: he regarded the canonical regulations of the Decretals as the laws of God. The occasional concessions or connivances of his predecessors he ascribed, not to the stringent necessity of the case, but to their own weakness and negligence, and felt himself bound to atone for their faults. Hence we find him, shortly after his accession, involved in the bitterest animosities with all his Italian neighbours.

In Naples, the regent Ponte, president of the king's council, had sentenced to the galleys an ecclesiastical notary for refusing to give information of a marriage to the civil court; and also a bookseller, who, contrary to a royal decree, had published the work of Baronius against the Sicilian monarchy. A remonstrance of Clement VIII. against these sentences had produced no effect. Paul V. did not hesitate an instant to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the regent\*.

The duke of Savoy had conferred some benefices, the gift of which was claimed by the court of Rome; Genoa had prohibited meetings held at the jesuits' colleges, because they endeavoured to control the appointments to public offices; Lucca had forbidden the execution of any decrees whatever of papal officers without the previous sanction of the local magistrates; and certain ecclesiastics, guilty of hei-

\* *Les ambassades du cardinal du Perron*, ii. 683, 736.



nous offences, had even been brought before the temporal criminal court of Venice. It was the very universality of this resistance that so inflamed the official zeal and indignation of the pope. In every case he interposed the most imperative orders, the severest menaces. He even chose this moment to extend the claims of the spiritual power. Amongst other things, he maintained the unheard-of assertion, that it was not the business of the state to prohibit the intercourse of its subjects with protestants ; that, he affirmed, was the affair of the church, and one belonging exclusively to the spiritual jurisdiction.

Most of the Italian states looked upon these proceedings as the result of exaggerated notions which experience would soon correct, and none of them wished to be the first to break with the pope. The grand-duke of Tuscany declared he had affairs in hand which would make the pope furious, but that he sought to postpone their execution ; that Paul V. was a man who judged of the world from a town in the States of the church territory, where everything was conducted according to the letter of the ecclesiastical law ; but that this could not last ; the Spaniards would be caught, and then they must either be voluntarily set free, or they would tear the net for themselves ; and that others had better wait for their example\*. The other powers were nearly of

\* *Relatione di IV ambasciatori.* “ Il granduca ricordava che il pontefice non era uso a governar come principe grande, perchè aver avuto qualche governo di città delle chiesa, dove si procede

the same opinion, and at first gave way. Genoa revoked her ordinance ; the duke of Savoy suffered the disputed benefices to be transferred to one of Paul's kinsmen ; even the Spaniards allowed their regent to request and receive absolution before numerous witnesses.

The Venetians alone, usually so prudent and so pliant, disdained to adopt this policy. Venice had indeed received greater provocation than the other powers ; the matter in question afforded an example how irritating the interference of the court of Rome might become, especially to a neighbouring state.

This vicinity was in itself a great inconvenience, especially after the church had obtained possession of Ferrara. The boundary disputes which the republic had with the dukes were now carried on with far greater eagerness and violence by the court of Rome ; the Venetians were molested in the work of clearing the channel of the Po, which they were then carrying on at a great expense, and in their ancient rights of fishing. They were forced to protect their workmen with armed vessels, and to make reprisals on the subjects of the pope for some fishing boats which the legate of Ferrara had captured.

In the meantime Paul also laid claim to the rights of sovereignty in Ceneda, which Venice had quietly exercised for centuries ; he attempted to transfer the appeals from the episcopal court, which

*col rigor ecclesiastico e da prete, non basta per saper governare come capo supremo."*

had appellate jurisdiction there, to Rome. The hostility became very serious ; the pope's nuncio proceeded to excommunications, while the Venetian senate took measures to prevent any civil consequences resulting from them\*.

The disputes concerning the tithes for the clergy were not less bitter. The Venetians declared that they had hitherto levied them without consulting the pope, and that they would not acknowledge his permission to be necessary for the collection of that tax. But it was still more exasperating to them that the court of Rome daily increased the number of exemptions from the payment of it. The cardinals, who possessed very rich livings, the knights of Malta, the monasteries, the mendicant friars, all who were abroad on the service of the church, or who could under any title be included in the pope's household, and, lastly, even those to whom the court of Rome had granted pensions payable out of the revenues of Venetian benefices, were declared exempt ; the three former classes from half, and the others from the whole of the tax. The consequence was, that the rich not being obliged to contribute anything, the whole burden fell on the poor, who were unable to support it. The revenue

\* Nicolo Contarini : " Mentre si disputava, pareva che da alcuno fusse fuggita la conversatione de' censurati, (officers of the republic who had opposed the transfer of the appeals to Rome,) la qual cosa giudicando il senato apportarli offesa, primieramente fece publicare un bando contra chi li havesse a schivo, e dopo a questi tutti in vita li fu data annua provisione quale era corrispondente alla loro fortuna."

of the Venetian clergy was estimated at eleven millions of ducats, whereas the actual tithes did not exceed 1200 ducats a year\*.

To these grievances were added innumerable points of difference regarding individuals rather than the state. I will only cite one instance.

It is well known how the press flourished in Venice during the early part of the sixteenth century; the republic was justly proud of this honourable branch of industry, which however was gradually ruined by the ordinances of the curia.

There was no end of prohibitions of books in Rome: first, all protestant works, then all publications against the morals of the clergy, against the immunity of the church, all that in the slightest degree departed from its dogmas, and all the works of any author who had in any one instance incurred an ecclesiastical censure. The trade could now only be carried on in articles of unimpeachable orthodoxy; in a purely mercantile point of view, it certainly revived a little by means of the splendid decorated missals and breviaries, for which the revival of catholic feelings and tastes now created a considerable demand. But even this was soon materially dimi-

\* From a memorandum presented to the government at Rome: "Mentre s'esagera sopra la severità del magistrato, non si ritrovava fin hora essersi conseguiti più di 12 m. ducati, per li quali non si doveva far tanti richiami, e le fortune della repubblica per gratia di dio non erano tali che ne dovesse far conto più che tanto." Certain arrangements were hereupon made, intended to avert the evil. But Contarini says, "In effetto montò poco perciocchè il foro era già fatto e l'abuso troppo confermato che distornarlo era più che malagevole."

nished ; the court of Rome set on foot certain emendations in these books, which, in their new form, were to be published only at Rome\*. The Venetians remarked, with the exasperation always produced by an abuse of public authority for private ends, that several of those employed in the congregation of the Index to superintend the affairs of the press, shared the profits of the printing-offices at Rome.

Under such circumstances, the relations subsisting between Rome and Venice were of course exclusively those of hatred and constraint.

It is easy to conceive how powerfully this temper of the public mind at Venice must have fostered that politico-religious opposition which conduced so essentially to the success of Henry IV. as early as 1589. Henry's victory, and the whole current of the affairs of Europe now confirmed and encouraged it. Even the disagreement with the pope contributed to throw the conduct of affairs into the hands of the representatives of these opinions ; since none appeared more fit to defend the interests of the republic against the encroachments of the spiritual power. Accordingly, in January 1606, Leonardo Donato, the chief of the anti-romanist party, was elected doge ; he admitted all the friends who had assisted him in the secret struggles of party, to a participation in power. Whilst the tiara was worn by a man who overstrained all his doubtful and disputable claims with blind and reckless zeal, the

\* Contarini : " Al presente s'era devenuto in Roma in questo pensiero di ristampar messali et altro, levando di poterlo far ad altri."

government of Venice fell into the hands of men in whom hostility to the domination of Rome had grown into a personal feeling ; who owed their rise to it, and maintained the principle of resistance the more strenuously, because it enabled them to keep down their antagonists in the republic itself.

The character of both the powers rendered it inevitable that their collisions should every day become more hostile and more extensive.

The pope demanded, not only that all spiritual offenders should be delivered up to him, but also that two laws lately renewed by the Venetians, forbidding the alienation of immoveables to the clergy, and rendering the erection of new churches dependent on the civil authority, should be repealed. He declared that he would not tolerate ordinances so directly at variance with the decrees of the councils, the constitutions of his predecessors, and to all rules of canon law. The Venetians would not yield one hair's-breadth ; they said that such were the fundamental laws of their state, transmitted to them by their ancestors, who had rendered such essential services to Christendom, and that the republic must keep them inviolate.

The contending parties did not long confine themselves to the immediate subjects of dispute. On the one hand, the church considered itself injured by the entire constitution of the Venetian republic ; a republic which forbade reference to Rome ; excluded, under the name of papalists, those who, by holding spiritual offices had been in any degree connected with the curia, from any par-

icipation in discussions on spiritual affairs ; and even ventured to impose taxes on the clergy. The Venetians, on the other hand, declared that these provisions were quite insufficient. They demanded that their benefices should be given only to natives of Venice, who should also have the sole direction of the inquisition ; that every bull should be submitted to the approval of the state ; that every spiritual assembly should be held in presence of a secular president, and that all pecuniary aid to Rome should be forbidden.

Nor did they stop even here, but proceeded from the immediate questions in debate to general principles.

The jesuits had long ago deduced the most important consequences to the rights of the church from their doctrine of the supremacy of the pope ; and these they did not delay to bring forward anew.

Bellarmino said, that in like manner as the spirit guides and governs the flesh, and not the flesh the spirit, so the secular power should not dare to exalt itself above the spiritual, or attempt to guide, to order, or to restrain it ; for that this would be a rebellion, a heathenish tyranny\* : that

\* Risposta del Cl. Bellarmino ad una lettera senza nome dell' autore. (Pamphlet of 1606.) “ La ragione indirizza e regge e comanda alla carne e talvolta la castiga con digiuni e vigilie, ma la carne non indirizza nè regge nè comanda nè punisce la ragione : così la potestà spirituale è superiore alla secolare e però la può e deve drizzare e reggere e comandarli e punirla quando si porta male ; ma la potestà secolare non è superiore alla spirituale nè la può drizzare nè reggere nè gli può comandare nè punirla se

the priesthood had its own sovereigns, whose office it was to govern it not only in spiritual but also in temporal affairs ; it would therefore be impossible for it to acknowledge any temporal sovereign, since no one could serve two masters : that the priest was to judge the emperor, not the emperor the priest, since it would be absurd for the sheep to attempt to guide the shepherd\*. Neither ought a prince to levy any taxes on ecclesiastical property ; he should draw his revenues from the laity ;—the clergy contributed the far more effectual aid of prayer and sacrifice. The clergy were to be exempt from all burthens on person or property ; they belonged to the family of Christ ; this exemption, if not founded on an express command of holy scripture, at all events rested on inferences drawn from it, and on analogy ; the ministers of the gospel were entitled to the same rights as the Levites in the Old Testament†.

These doctrines were calculated to secure to that spiritual republic which exercised so material an influence on political government, an equal de-

non di fatto per ribellione e tirannide, come hanno fatto talvolta li principi gentili o heretici.”

\* Bellarminus de clericis, i. c. 30 : “ Respondeo, principem quidem ovem ac spiritualem filium pontificis esse, sed sacerdotem nullo modo filium vel ovem principis dici posse, quoniam sacerdotes et omnes clerici suum habent principem spirituales, a quo non in spiritualibus solum sed etiam in temporalibus reguntur.”

† These maxims may be found verbatim either in the above-mentioned Risposta, or in Bellarmine's book, *De clericis*, particularly in lib. i. c. 30.



gree of independence from its reactions. The greatest pains were taken at Rome to establish them by innumerable proofs and arguments from scripture, and by passages from decrees of councils and imperial and papal constitutions, and they were generally regarded as beyond the reach of refutation. Who in Venice would venture to oppose a Bellarmine or a Baronius?

But in the person of their consulter of state, Paolo Sarpi, the Venetians possessed a man so formed by nature and circumstances, and placed in such a situation, that he could dare to take up arms against the spiritual power.

Paolo Sarpi was the son of a merchant who had come from St. Vitus to Venice, and of a lady of the Venetian family of Morelli, which enjoyed the privileges of citizenship. His father was a man of small stature, dark complexion, and turbulent, quarrelsome temper, who ruined himself by imprudent speculations. His mother was one of those tall and beautiful Venetian blondes who are still not unfrequently to be seen, and was remarkable for modesty and good sense. Her son resembled her in his features\*.

At the time we are now considering, the brother of Paolo's mother, Ambrosio Morelli, was at the head of a school enjoying a very high reputation, and principally devoted to the education of young

\* Sarpi, born August 14, 1552. His father was named Francesco, his mother Elisabetta. Fra Fulgentio, Vita di Paolo Sarpi. Grisellini, Memorie di Fra Paolo Sarpi, translated into German by Lebret, p. 13.

nobles. The nephew of the master naturally shared in the instruction; among his companions were Nicolo Contarini and Andrea Morosini, with both of whom he became very intimate: thus on the very threshold of life he formed ties which had the strongest influence on his future destiny.

He did not however allow either his mother, his uncle, or these friends to deter him from indulging his inclination for solitude, and as early as his 14th or 15th year he entered a convent of Servites.

He spoke little and was always serious; he never ate meat, and till his thirtieth year drank no wine; he hated all lewd conversation: "there comes the virgin," said his companions when he approached; "let us talk of something else." Every wish, aspiration and desire he was capable of was directed to study, for which he possessed extraordinary aptitude.

He was endowed with the invaluable gift of a quick and accurate perception; thus he recognised any person he had once seen; as soon as he went into a garden he saw and remarked everything in it at a glance; in short, he was furnished, both bodily and mentally, with clear and penetrating vision\*. He dedicated himself to the study of the physical sciences with remarkable success. His admirers ascribe to him the discovery of the valves in

\* According to Fra Fulgentio (p. 38.), he himself spoke of his "gran passibilità, perchè non sola l'oggetto in lui facesse moto, ma ogni minima reliquia." "Come un perito suonatore," continues Fulgentio, "ad un sol tocco fa giudizio del instrumento, così con far parlar le persone con prestezza ammirabile conosceva i fini, gli interessi," etc.

the blood-vessels, and of the expansion and contraction of the pupil of the eye\*, the first observation of the polar attraction of the magnet, besides several other magnetic phenomena ; and it cannot be denied that he took an active share in the labours of Aquapendente, and still more of Porta†. To his physical studies he united mathematical calculations, and the observation of the phenomena of the human mind. In the library of the Servites at Venice, there is a copy of Vieta's works, in which the numerous mistakes of that author are corrected by the hand of Fra Paolo; there was in the same place a small treatise of his on the origin and decline of the opinions of men, which, judging from the extracts given by Foscari, contained a theory of the intellectual powers which assumed sensation and reflection as their basis, and had considerable resemblance to that of Locke‡, although not so entire a one as some have supposed. Fra Paolo wrote no more than he was forced ; he had by nature no

\* See also Fischer, *Geschichte der Physik*, i. 169.

† "A quo," says Porta of him, "aliqua didicisse non solum fateri non erubescimus, sed gloriamur, quum eo doctiorem, subtiliorem, quotquot adhuc videre contigerit, neminem cognoverimus ad encyclopædiam." *Magiæ natur. lib. vii. præf.* Griselin, i. § 20, 24.

‡ His explanation of substance was peculiarly striking. Paolo Sarpi, according to Foscari and Griselin, infers substance from the multiplicity of ideas existing on a basis which we cannot discover ; and in this unknown basis, he says, consists what we call substance. Griselin, i. p. 46, German translation. Locke, *Human Understanding*, vol. ii. ch. 23: "Not imagining how the simple ideas can subsist of themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist and from which they do result, which therefore we call substance."

inclination for producing ; he read incessantly, and appropriated what he read or observed : his mind was distinguished by sobriety and comprehensiveness, method and boldness, and went steadily forward in the paths of free investigation.

Such were the mental powers now directed to questions of theology and ecclesiastical law.

It has been said that Fra Paolo was in secret a protestant ; it is not however probable that his protestantism went beyond the first simple principles of the confession of Augsburg—if indeed he held those ; at all events he said mass every day during his whole life. It would be difficult to define to what form of Christianity he was inwardly attached ; it was one often held in those times, especially by men who had devoted themselves to the physical sciences ;—a religion bound by none of the established systems, original, speculative, but neither absolutely defined nor completely worked out.

This however is certain, that Fra Paolo entertained the most determined and irreconcilable hatred towards the secular influence of the papacy ; probably the only passion he ever cherished. Some have ascribed it to the refusal of a bishopric for which he was a candidate ; and certainly no one can deny the effect that a mortifying rejection which shuts out the prospect from natural ambition may have, even on a manly spirit. Fra Paolo's feelings however had a far deeper foundation. His was a mingled political and religious sentiment, allied to all his other convictions, strengthened by study and experience, and shared by those friends and con-

temporaries who had formerly met at the house of Morosini, and who were now at the helm of the state. The chimerical arguments with which the jesuits had endeavoured to support their assertions, vanished before the clear-sighted and searching inquiry of Fra Paolo.

Indeed, the jesuitical doctrines were entirely founded on a devotion to the holy see, arising from a bygone state of society.

It was not without labour that Sarpi at first wrought conviction in the minds of the jurists of his own country. Some held, with Bellarmine, that the exemption of the clergy was a rule of the divine law; others maintained, that at least the pope had the power to command it; they appealed to the decrees of councils, in which that exemption was expressly declared, and urged that what had been within the competence of a council was far more within that of a pope. The former of these disputants were easily confuted; to the others Fra Paolo's main argument in reply was, that the councils with which this power rested were convoked by temporal sovereigns, and were to be regarded as assemblies of the empire by which a multitude of other political laws had been enacted\*. This is a

\* Letter from Sarpi to Leschasser, 3rd of February, 1619, in Lebre's Magazine, i. 479. A remark so much the more important in those times, as Mariana, for instance, deduced from the resolutions of the Spanish councils the most extensive worldly privileges for the clergy. It may, however, be constantly remarked, that even then, spiritual and temporal pretensions were already either confounded or at variance. The old Gothic monar-

point upon which the doctrines inculcated by Fra Paolo and his friends were mainly grounded.

They set out from the principle which had been so warmly and successfully asserted in France,—that the kingly power was derived immediately from God, and was subject to no human control ;—that the pope had no right or authority even to inquire whether the political acts of a country were sinful or not. For to what would such a right lead ? Was there one which might not be sinful as respecting its objects ? The pope would have to examine everything, to interfere in everything ;—the temporal authority would, in short, be annihilated.

But to this authority the clergy, as well as the laity of a country, were subject. All power, says the apostle, is of God. No one is exempt from the obligation of obedience to the established authorities, any more than from that of obedience to God. The sovereign enacts the laws, administers justice, and raises taxes ; in all these particulars the clergy are equally bound to obey him as the laity\*.

It is not denied that the pope has jurisdiction

chy in Spain contained, in fact, a strong spiritual element ; for old laws are generally grounded upon circumstances belonging to a remote state of society.

\* Risposta d'un dottore in theologia ad una lettera scrittagli sopra il breve delle censure. “ Sono dunque tutti gli ecclesiastici et i secolari de jure divino soggetti al principe secolare. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. E la ragione si è perchè siccome niuno è eccettuato dall'ubbidienza che deve a dio, così niuno è eccettuato dall'ubbidienza che deve al principe : perchè comme soggiunge l'apostolo, omnis potestas a deo.”

also ; but that jurisdiction is exclusively spiritual. Did Christ exercise any temporal jurisdiction ? He could not transfer, either to St. Peter or his successors, what he never claimed for himself.

The exemption of the clergy cannot therefore be traced to any original divine right\* ; it can rest only on the consent of the sovereign. The sovereign had granted to the church, property and jurisdiction : he is its protector, its general patron ; and therefore to him naturally and justly belong the nomination of the clergy and the publication of bulls.

It is not competent to the sovereign to renounce his power, if he would ; since it is a trust committed to him, which he is bound in conscience to transmit unimpaired to his successor.

Thus were the claims and the theory of the church boldly met by the claims and the theory of the state. The tendencies of the conflicting powers are expressed in these opposite systems. The blending of temporal and spiritual interests in the states of Europe is so intimate, that a wide field of action lies open on the ground where both meet and min-

\* Difesa di Giovanni Marsilio a favore della risposta delle otto propositioni, contro la quale ha scritto l'ill<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> Sr. Cl. Bellarmino, Venezia, 1606, explains in the following manner the meaning of its author, who has expressed himself somewhat obscurely ; the explanation is at least authentic, as it comes from the same side : “ Dice l'autore due cose : la prima si è che le persone ecclesiastiche non siano esente dalla potestà secolare nè meno i beni di esse, intendendo in quelle cose alle quali la detta potestà si estende (i. e. not to the purely spiritual) : la seconda che l'esentione ch' hanno li detti ecclesiastici non è de jure divino, ma de jure humano.” (p. 62.)

gle. This entire field has long been claimed by the church, and to this day she is continually renewing her pretensions to its exclusive possession. The state, on the other hand, has occasionally set up a similar claim ; but perhaps never so boldly and so systematically as in Venice at the time we are speaking of. It was impossible that these conflicting claims could ever be adjusted legally and politically, it was only practicable by means of mutual concessions ; whenever these were refused, there was no other arbiter but force. Each side had then to try its strength ; in a struggle for the right to obedience, there was nothing to be done but to prove which party was strong enough to enforce it.

On the 17th of April, 1606, pope Paul V., with all the rigid and imposing forms of the early ages of the papacy, and with express reference to so omnipotent a predecessor as Innocent III., pronounced sentence of excommunication on the doge, the senate, and all the constituted authorities of Venice, and in a more especial manner on the Consultores. He granted them only the shortest possible intervals for recantation, three of eight and one of three days. After the lapse of these, all the churches of the Venetian territory, convent churches and private chapels not excepted, lay under interdict, viz. prohibition to perform divine service. The clergy were imperatively enjoined to announce this brief of anathema to the assembled congregations, and to fix it on the church doors\*. The whole body, from

\* “ Mentre in esse si troverà adunata maggior moltitudine di popolo per sentir li divini officj ” . . . . which had occurred at Ferrara



the patriarch to the parish priest, were commanded to do this on peril of heavy chastisement from the hand of justice, human and divine.

Such was the attack ; the defence was not equally vigorous.

It was proposed in the Collegium of Venice to enter a solemn protest, as had been done in former times ; but this was not carried, on the ground that the pope's sentence was null and void, and had not so much as a show of justice. In a short proclamation contained in one quarto page, Leonardo Donato announced to the clergy the determination of the republic to uphold and maintain the sovereign authority, "which in temporal things acknowledged no superior but God ;" adding, "that her faithful clergy would of themselves recognise the nullity of the censure uttered against them, and would go on uninterruptedly in the performance of their sacred functions—the cure of souls and the worship of God." There was not the smallest expression either of fear or of menace ; it was a simple declaration of confidence. Probably however something more was done orally\*.

The question of claim and of right was thus directly transformed into a question of might and of possession. Enjoined to obedience by the conflicting

with such serious consequences. Breve di censure et interdetto della Stà di N. S<sup>re</sup> P. Paolo V. contra li S<sup>ri</sup> Venetiani 1606.

\* This proclamation, issued on the 6th of May, 1606, is printed by Rampazetto, stampator ducale. On the title-page is the Evangelist St. Mark with the Gospel and drawn sword. In the senate, according to Priuli, they investigated "le nullità molte e notorie" of the papal letter.

commands of their two superiors, the pope and the republic, the Venetian clergy had now to decide to which of the two they would render it.

They did not hesitate ;—they belonged to the republic. Not one single copy of the pope's brief was fixed up\*. The time granted by the pope for recantation expired. The service of God everywhere went on in its accustomed manner, and the regular clergy acted in perfect unison with the secular.

The new orders, who were the especial representatives of the ecclesiastical restoration, i. e. the jesuits, theatines, and capuchins, afforded the only exception. The jesuits were not entirely resolved within themselves ; they first consulted their provincial in Ferrara, and then their general in Rome, who applied to the pope himself: Paul's answer was, that they must either obey the interdict, or shake off the dust from their feet and leave Venice;—doubtless a hard sentence, since they were distinctly informed that they would never be permitted to return : but the principle on which the society was founded, left them no choice ; and, embarking in their own boats, they sought refuge in the papal territory†. Their example infected the other orders with a similar spirit‡. The theatines proposed a middle course, which however the Venetians would

\* P. Sarpi, *Historia particolare*, lib. ii. p. 55, asserts that certain people who had attempted to fix up copies of the bulls were arrested by the inhabitants themselves.

† Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, v. ii. p. 93.

‡ V. Sandi (vi. 1110) continues to speak of “i reformati di S. Francesco ;” but this error, although shared by many other

not listen to ; they would suffer no division in their land ; their subjects must obey, or void the country. The deserted churches were readily supplied with other priests, and it was carefully contrived that no trace of a deficiency should be discernible. The following Corpus Christi day was celebrated with peculiar pomp and an unusually numerous procession\*.

Here then was a complete and open schism.

The pope was amazed ; the realities of things stood in the most abrupt contrast to his exaggerated notions ;—were there any means of mastering them ?

Paul V. thought at times of trying the force of arms, and the warlike spirit was on one occasion so far predominant in the congregations, that cardinal Sauli exclaimed that they would chastise the Venetians ; and legates were actually commissioned and troops armed. But at bottom they dared not go to war. They must have known that Venice would probably call in protestant assistance, and would throw Italy, nay, the whole catholic world, into the most perilous agitation.

An adjustment of the question of the rights of the church must eventually be attempted, now as heretofore, by political means ; only that now these could not be resorted to by the contending parties, between whom animosity had arisen to too high a

authors, is attributable merely to the fact, that the capuchins are in truth reformed franciscans, and are mentioned as such on this occasion by A. Morosini.

\* A Maurocenus, *Historia Ven.*, tom. iii. p. 350.

pitch, but fell to the mediation of the two great powers—Spain and France. The particular interests of those countries were of course consulted in this negotiation. In each there existed a party desirous of an open rupture.

In Spain, it consisted of the zealous catholics, who hoped once more to enchain the see of Rome to the monarchy; the governors of the Italian provinces, whose power would be enhanced by war; and the ambassador Viglienna, who thought that his house would acquire spiritual dignities.

In France, on the contrary, the war-party was composed of the zealous protestants. Sully and his followers would have gladly seen a war in Italy, as a diversion in favour of the Netherlands which were just then pressed by Spinola.

The parties at length came to demonstrations of hostility. The king of Spain sent a letter to the pope, in which he promised him assistancè, at least in general terms. In France, the Venetian ambassador received so many offers from considerable men, that he was of opinion he could have raised an army of fifteen thousand Frenchmen in a month. These movements however led to nothing. The most influential ministers, Lerma in Spain and Villeroi in France, sincerely desired to maintain peace. The reputation of the former mainly rested on the establishment of peace; the latter was a strict catholic, and would never have consented to make France a party to an attack on the pope\*.

\* *Relatione di Pietro Priuli ritornato di Francia* 4. Sett. 1608, contains a detailed exposition of the part taken by the French in these transactions. Villeroi declares, “esser questa opportunis-

The sovereigns were of the same opinion. Henry IV. justly remarked, that by drawing his sword for the republic, he should risk his reputation as a good catholic. Philip III. despatched a second letter to the pope, explanatory of the first, in which he said that he would support his holiness, but not unless he was secure of indemnity for the cost ; and added that he would stand by him for good, but not for evil\*.

Thus vanished all possibility of a war. Both the great powers now strove which should contribute the most to bring about a peace, as a means of strengthening its own interests ; to this end, Francisco de Castro, Lerma's nephew, was sent by Spain, and cardinal Joyeuse by France, to Venice.

I have neither the inclination nor the power to explain the whole course of their negotiations ; it is sufficient for the present purpose to mark its most important points. The first difficulty was,

*sua e propria occasione di guadagnare l'animo del papa.—Il re, assicurato dal suo ambasciatore presso la repubblica che V. S.<sup>a</sup> non metteria in mano d' altri questo negotio che della Ma S., ebbe mira di guadagnare et obligarsi con questa occasione l' animo del pontefice."*

\* Francesco Priuli, Relatione di Spagna, 20 Ag. 1608. " Venne il contestabile a trovarmi a casa, e mi disse costantemente che gli ordini dell' ammassar genti non erano per altro se non per non star in otio mentre tutte potenze del mondo si armavano, ma che però non s' erano provveduti di danaro : raccomandò la pace d' Italia non potendo perder la repubblica nell' esser liberale di parole ossequenti, per haver in effetto quello che desiderava. . . . In quel tempo che il duca di Lerma delle forze da amassarsi parlò iperbolicamente all' ambasciator d' Inghilterra, . . . scrissono al papa che S. M.<sup>a</sup> gli aveva ben promesso d' ajutarlo ma che ciò s' intendeva al bene e non al male, . . . che il cominciar le guerre stava in mano degli uomini et il finire in quelle di dio."

that the pope demanded, as an indispensable condition, the suspension of the Venetian laws which had given him so much offence, and rendered the suspension of his ecclesiastical censures dependent upon it.

On the other hand, the Venetians, with a certain republican self-complacency, were wont to regard their own laws as something sacred and inviolable. When therefore in January 1607, the affair came under discussion, it was rejected in the senate, though not absolutely in the Collegium\*. The French, who had promised the pope to bring it forward again, could not even succeed in obtaining a hearing for it till the following March. Of the four opponents in the Collegium, one at least then withdrew his opposition; and the senate, after the matter had been a second time thoroughly debated (though even now it could not be brought

\* Ger. Priuli, *Cronica Veneta*, 20 Zener, 1606 (1607): "Dopo lunga disputa di otto giorni e varie pendentie di giudicio deliberò il senato rispondere agli ambasciatori di Francia e di Spagna che il devenir a qualsivoglia forma di sospensione non si può accomodar la repubblica, essendo cosa di perpetuo pregiudicio: il che fu proposto da S. Bembo et Al. Zorzi savj del consilio et A. Mula et S. Venier savj della terra ferma." Others were for a more moderate decision. Nor was it improbable that they would carry their point. In the mean time came the news that there was nothing to fear from Spanish arms, in consequence of the disturbances at Naples. "E fu perciò preso la total negativa di sospensione." With ninety-nine against seventy-eight, they had a majority of twenty-one voices. On the 9th of March however Bembo himself retired from the commission. On the 14th of March, the more moderate decision was taken, in opposition to Zorzi and in spite of Mula and Venier.

to a formal and express suspension of the laws', passed a resolution to the effect -- that the republic would conduct itself with its accustomed piety." Dim and vague as these words appear, the ambassador and the pope thought they perceived in them the fulfilment of their wishes, and the pope accordingly suspended his censures.

But another most unlooked-for obstacle immediately arose. The Venetians refused to re-admit the jesuits, who, after their voluntary departure, had been excluded from the dominions of the republic by a solemn decree. Was it possible for the pope to abandon his faithful sons, who had been guilty of no crime but implicit obedience and unalterable attachment to him, in such a strait?

He tried every means to change the determination of the Venetians. The French too espoused the cause of the jesuits, who had secured the king's good will in this exigency by a special mission, and had also interested Joyeuse in their favour. The Venetians remained inflexible\*.

The most remarkable thing was, that the Spaniards declared against the order, and not, as might have been expected, for it. The dominican interest was paramount in Spain; Lerma did not love the jesuits, and thought it wrong, on general

\* Pietro Priuli, *Relatione di Francia*, adds to this: "Sola-mente l'ufficio dell'ambasciatore ritenne la dispositione che aveva S. M<sup>a</sup>, eccitata dall'efficaci istanze che furono fatte da un padre Barisoni Padoano mandato in Francia espressamente dalla sua congregatione con pensiero d'ottener di interessarsi acciocchè fossero di nuovo ricevuti."

grounds, that a state should be forced to receive back such disobedient subjects; in short, Francisco di Castro at first avoided all discussion concerning the jesuits, and at length set himself in direct opposition to the steps taken by the French in their behalf\*.

This phenomenon, though originating in the situation of things, was so striking, that the pope himself was startled by it, and suspecting that it proceeded from some mysterious source, ceased to press for the restoration of the jesuits†.

This resolution, however, must have cost him dear. For an insignificant law or two, he had seemed prepared to set the world in commotion; he now acquiesced in the perpetual exile of his faithful adherents from a catholic, an Italian territory‡.

The republic, on the other hand, consented to deliver up the two priests who had been imprisoned.

She however claimed the right to enter a protest,

\* Francesco Priuli, *Relatione di Spagna*: “Sentendo (i Spagnuoli) che Franciosi insistevano nell’ introduzione de’ Gesuiti, scrissero a Roma et a Venezia che non trattassero di ciò, dando ragione alla repubblica di non voler capitolare con gente suddita che l’aveva sì gravemente offesa.”

† Francesco Priuli: “Venuto l’ avviso dell’ intiero accomodamento, desisterono dal procurare che si trattasse di loro con la S<sup>ta</sup> V., non solo per non aver voluto parlar di loro, ma per essersi attraversati alli gagliardi ufficj di Francesi: che fece dubitare il papa di qualche recondito mistero, e non vi volse insistere con che essi non sapevano che dire.”

‡ Ger. Priuli: “Pesò molto a S. S<sup>ta</sup> questa cosa de’ Gesuiti, non per loro ma per la sua propria riputatione.”



of which the pope absolutely refused to hear anything. The expedient on which the parties at length determined is very curious\*. The secretary of the Venetian senate led the prisoners into the palace of the French ambassador and delivered them up to him, "out of consideration," said he, "for his Most Christian Majesty, and with the previous reservation that the rights of the republic to judge her own clergy shall not be in any degree infringed or diminished by this act."

"So I receive them," said the ambassador; and led them to the cardinal, who was walking up and down in a loggia. "These are the prisoners," said he, "who are to be delivered up to the pope:"—without the smallest allusion to the reservation. The cardinal, without adding a word, then gave them in charge to the papal commissary, who received them, making a sign of the cross.

It is evident how far the hostile parties were as yet from anything like a good understanding. Their only object was to make a show of reconciliation; and to effect this, it was still necessary that the pope should revoke the censures and grant absolution.

But even on these points the Venetians had objections to offer; they persisted in maintaining that the censures had been null and void *in se*, and had

\* Joyeuse thus mentions it as a condition: "che levandosi le censure siano consignati li due prigionieri a chi li riceve in nome di S. Santità, li quali, se bene S. Serenità (Venice) dice di darli in gratificatione di S. M. Chr<sup>ma</sup>, si dovessero consignare senza dir altro."

never touched them, and that consequently they stood in no need of absolution. Joyeuse declared to them that he could not alter the forms of the church. At length it was agreed that the absolution should not be pronounced with the customary publicity; Joyeuse presented himself in the Collegium, and pronounced it as it were *privatim*. The Venetians have always imagined that they had thus got off entirely without absolution, nor indeed was it granted in all its forms\*; but granted it unquestionably was.

It is evident that, on the whole, the disputed points were not settled so entirely in favour of the Venetians as is generally affirmed.

The laws of which the pope complained were suspended; the priests whom he demanded were delivered up to him; even the absolution was, in fact, accepted. Yet all these points were carried under the most extraordinary qualifications. The Venetians proceeded, as in an affair of honour, with the most anxious solicitude about their reputation, and surrounded every concession with as many reservations as possible. The pope, on the other hand, was at a disadvantage, inasmuch as he was constrained to make a more obvious and less honourable concession than those he obtained, and one which excited the notice of the whole world.

From that time the relations between Rome and

\* Daru, at the end of his 29th book, gives Joyeuse's letter, which is unquestionably the only thing of importance he brings forward in reference to this affair; but he makes some objections to it which appear to me very untenable.

Venice fell, at least to appearance, into the old track. On receiving the first ambassador from Venice, Paul exclaimed that old things were put away,—that all was new; he sometimes complained that Venice would not forget what he had forgotten, and showed a temper as mild and indulgent as any of his predecessors\*.

But the only real result was, that fresh dissensions were avoided; the latent discords still subsisted, nor indeed was it possible for genuine confidence to be so easily restored.

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#### § 13. ISSUE OF THE AFFAIRS OF THE JESUITS.

In a similar, that is to say, in as imperfect a manner, was the dispute between the jesuits and the dominicans terminated.

Clement died, as we have seen, before he had pronounced judgement. Paul V., who entered upon the affair with all the zeal which distinguished the early part of his administration, (as a proof of which we find that between September 1605 and February 1606, no less than seventeen meetings were held in his presence) was not less inclined to the old system, of which the dominican party were the representatives, than his predecessors. In October and November, 1606, assemblies were even

\* *Relatione di Mocenigo*, 1612. The pope declared, “che conveniva per servizio d’Italia che fosse sempre buona intelligenza fra quella sede e questa repubblica.”

held for the purpose of settling the form in which condemnation was to be pronounced on the jesuitical doctrines, and the dominicans thought the victory was already in their hands\*.

It was just at this time that the disputes with Venice had been adjusted in the manner which we have related above ; the jesuits had given a proof of attachment to the see of Rome far exceeding any exhibited by the other orders, and for this Venice made them suffer.

Under these circumstances it would have appeared an act of cruelty on the part of the Roman see to visit these its most faithful servants with a decree of condemnation. Accordingly, when all was prepared for its publication, the pope paused. For a while he allowed the affair to rest ; at length, on the 29th of August, 1607, he issued a declaration by which Disputatores and Consultores were dismissed to their several homes ; the decision was to be made known in due time ; meanwhile it was his holiness's most earnest desire that neither party should censure or reproach the other†.

In this manner the jesuits had a compensation for the loss they had sustained in Venice. It was a great gain for them that their controverted doctrines, although not confirmed, were not rejected.

\* Serry, *Historia congregationum de auxiliis*, p. 562 and further, gives the documents relating to the matter. “*Gratiæ victrici*,” he says himself, “*jam canebatur ‘Io triumphe.’*”

† Coronelli, secretary to the congregations, in Serry, p. 589 : “*Tra tanto ha ordinato (S. S<sup>a</sup>) molto seriamente che nel trattare di queste materie nessuno ardisca di qualificare e censurare l'altra parte.*”

They even boasted of victory. With the prejudice of orthodoxy in their favour, they once more pursued, with persevering zeal, that doctrinal path upon which they had entered.

The only question now was, whether they would also succeed in perfectly appeasing their internal dissensions.

The society was still in a state of the most violent fermentation. The changes in its constitution proved to be inadequate, and the Spanish opposition, with a view to its own ends, was unwearied in its endeavours to get rid of Aquaviva. At length the procurators of all the provinces declared a general congregation to be necessary—a measure never attempted before; in the year 1607 they met, and radical and sweeping changes were once more discussed.

We have frequently remarked the close connexion which subsisted between the society and France, and the favour which Henry IV. had shown it. He even took an interest in the internal divisions of the order, and was a warm partisan of Aquaviva. In a letter written with that express object, he not only assured him of his good-will, but also gave the congregation to understand his wish that no alteration should be attempted in the constitution of the society\*.

Aquaviva knew how to make excellent use of so powerful a protector.

\* *Literæ christianissimi regis ad congregatos patres*, iv. Kal. Dec. 1607, in Juvencius, v. ii. lib. ix. n. 108: "Vosque hortamur ad retinendam instituti vestri integritatem et splendorem."

The opposition he had to encounter had its seat chiefly in the provincial congregations. He now passed a law, in virtue of which, first, no proposition should be regarded as agreed to in a provincial meeting unless it were supported by two-thirds of the votes ; and secondly, a proposition even when approved in this manner, could not come under discussion in the general meeting, unless it had the previous consent of the majority ; ordinances, by which it is obvious the influence of the provincial congregations was extremely diminished.

But besides this, a formal sentence of condemnation on the enemies of the general was pronounced, and the provincial superiors were expressly admonished to proceed against the so-called disturbers of the peace. Tranquillity was thus gradually restored. The Spanish members submitted, and ceased to struggle against the new spirit which actuated their order. A more tractable generation gradually grew up under the reigning influences ; while on the other hand, the general strove to requite Henry IV. for the countenance and favour he had received from him by redoubled devotedness.

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#### CONCLUSION.

Thus did all these dissensions seem once more likely to be tranquillized.

But if we reflect on their growth and general result, we shall perceive that changes of a most important nature had been wrought in the bosom of the catholic church.

We started from the point at which the papacy, engaged in a victorious struggle, advanced by constant progression to the plenitude of power. In strict alliance with the Spanish policy, it conceived the design of urging on all the catholic states in one direction, and overpowering the refractory by one great movement. Had this scheme succeeded, the ecclesiastical spirit would have risen to absolute supremacy, would have incorporated all catholic states in a unity of idea, faith, conduct and policy, and would thus have acquired a resistless influence even over their internal affairs.

At this very juncture, however, the most violent internal disunion showed itself.

In France the feeling of nationality rose in opposition to the claims of the hierarchy. Even the more orthodox catholics would not submit to be guided in all points by the interests of the church, or the commands of the ecclesiastical sovereign ; there were still principles at work, such as temporal policy and national independence, which resisted the encroachments of the papacy with unconquerable energy. In the main these principles obtained the victory ; the pope was forced to recognise them, and the French church adopted them as its basis.

Hence it followed, however, that France resumed her hostile attitude towards the Spanish monarchy ;

that two great powers, rivals by nature and always disposed for strife, advanced to the conflict in the centre of the catholic world. So little was it possible to preserve unity. The circumstances of Italy were such as to render this conflict, and the equilibrium of which it was the cause, advantageous to the see of Rome.

Meanwhile too, new theological schisms broke out. However acute and precise were the definitions of the council of Trent, they were ineffectual to prevent them; within the circle which it had traced there was still room for controversy. The two most powerful orders entered the lists; the two great powers took part to a certain degree in the contest, while Rome had not courage to pronounce a decision.

To the sources of dissension there were now added the disputes concerning the limits of the spiritual and the temporal jurisdictions; disputes of a local origin, and with a neighbour of no formidable power, but carried on in a spirit and with a vehemence which conferred upon them a general importance\*. Justly is Paolo Sarpi's memory held in reverence in all catholic states. He was the able and victorious champion of those principles determining the bounds of ecclesiastical authority, which are their guides and safeguards to this day.

These conflicts between ideas and doctrines,—

\* “V. S<sup>ta</sup>,” exclaims P. Priuli on his return from France, “a dichiarito, si può dire, sin a quai termini sia permesso al pontefice estendere la sua temporale e spirituale autorità.” (Relatione di Francia, 1608.)



between constitutional government and absolute power,—now proved the grand impediment to that ecclesiastico-secular unity which the papacy sought to establish, and indeed seemed to render it utterly impossible.

The progress of things however proved that pacific ideas were the strongest. It was impossible to prevent the internal discords, but an open struggle was avoided. The peace between the great powers was restored and maintained; the Italian states were not yet fully conscious of their strength, nor active in the exertion of it; silence was imposed on the hostile orders; the struggles between church and state were not pushed to extremity; Venice accepted the offered mediation.

The policy of the papacy was, as far as possible, to assume a position superior to the contending parties, and to act as a mediator in their differences; a position and character which it still possessed sufficient authority to sustain.

Without doubt, the perpetuation of the struggle with protestantism, and the advancement of the catholic reformation, in which the influence of the papacy on the world was mainly exerted, reacted upon this policy, in which it at the same time originated.

We must now return to the consideration of this grand struggle and to its further developement.

# **BOOK VII.**

**1590—1630.**



## PROGRESS OF THE RESTORATION OF CATHOLICISM. 1590—1617.

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### INTRODUCTION.

**IT** appears to me that I do not deceive myself, nor overstep the province of the historian, if I here pause a moment to indicate an universal law of social life, which the period under consideration naturally suggests.

It is indisputable that the great movements which stir society from its very foundations, are invariably produced by the workings of the living spirit of man. The sense of moral and intellectual want, which disposes men to seize on new opinions, often lies for centuries fermenting in the fathomless depths of the heart of society. At length, in the fulness of time, arises one of those master-spirits, endowed with the genius, energy and confidence which fit a man to wield these moral forces; to reveal to his age the wants of which it had but a dim and perplexed consciousness; to interpret to it its own confused and half-formed opinions, and to give them shape, compactness and strength.

It is of the very nature of these moral forces to be eager to carry the world with them,—to strive to bear down all resistance. The greater however their success, and the wider the circle which they embrace, the more inevitably do they come in contact with peculiar and independent elements of social existence which they cannot completely subdue or absorb. Hence it happens, that as they are of necessity in a state of continual progress, they must continually undergo change and modification. The foreign elements which they gather up in their course and incorporate with themselves, tinge them with their own colour; tendencies are developed, events take place, which are not unfrequently at variance with the predominant character of the movement. These heterogeneous elements necessarily share in the general growth of the body of which they form a part; the important matter is, that they should not acquire a predominance which would completely destroy the unity, and change the principle, to which it owes its compactness and its character.

We have seen how powerfully internal discrepancies and profound contrasts were at work within the bosom of reviving and restoring papacy. But the master-idea retained its victory; the highest unity of catholicism, though not perhaps with its former all-embracing power, remained predominant, and advanced with steady course, unimpeded by moments of internal strife, from which indeed it often borrowed fresh energy for new conquests.

Its projects now bespeak our attention. What

was their success, what the social revolutions they occasioned, and what the resistance they encountered from within or from without, are questions of the highest importance to the human race.

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§ 1. MEASURES UNDERTAKEN FOR THE SPREAD OF  
CATHOLICISM IN POLAND AND THE NEIGHBOUR-  
ING COUNTRIES.

We have already expressed our opinion, that the protestants, who for some time had decidedly the ascendancy in Poland, would have been strong enough to raise a king of their own religion to the throne; but that even they ultimately thought it more advantageous to their interests to have a catholic sovereign; since in the pope he would be forced to recognise a superior power, and a supreme judge. If such were the motives by which they were guided, they drew down upon themselves a severe punishment for this departure from protestant principles.

For it was precisely by means of a catholic king that the pope was enabled to wage war against them.

Besides, of all the foreign ministers in Poland, the papal nuncio alone had the privilege of an audience of the king without the presence of a senator:—we know well what sort of men filled that office; they were dexterous and prudent enough

to foster and turn to account the confidential intercourse which was thus open to them.

Cardinal Bolognetto was the nuncio in Poland at the beginning of the year 1580. He complains of the inconveniences of the climate, the cold, (to which an Italian was doubly susceptible) the suffocation of the small heated rooms, and the mode of life, so thoroughly strange to him ; nevertheless he accompanied king Stephen from Warsaw to Cracow, from Wilna to Lublin—throughout the kingdom ; sometimes indeed in rather a melancholy mood, but not the less indefatigable: during the campaigns he kept up a constant correspondence with Stephen, and maintained an unbroken connexion between the interests of Rome and the person of the king.

We have a detailed account of the manner in which he performed his office, and by this we are made acquainted with the nature of his undertakings and the measure of his success\*.

Above all things he impressed upon the king the necessity of filling the government offices exclusively with catholics ; of tolerating the catholic mode of worship alone in the royal towns, and of re-establishing tithes ; measures which, about this same time, were taken in other countries, and which were either the causes or the signs of the revival of catholicism.

He did not now succeed in his attempt; king

\* Spannocchi, *Relatione all' Ill<sup>mo</sup> Rev<sup>mo</sup> Cardinal Rusticucci, segretario di N. S. Papa Sisto V., delle cose di Polonia intorno alla religione e delle azioni del cardinal Bolognetto in quattro anni ch'egli è stato nunzio in quella provincia.*

Stephen did not think he could venture so far, and declared that he was not yet sufficiently powerful.

Nevertheless, this prince had not only catholic convictions, but an innate zeal for the interests of the church ; on many other points he gave in to the representations of the nuncio. The Jesuit colleges in Cracow, Grodno, and Pultusk were established by the immediate bounty of the king ; the new calendar was introduced without difficulty, and the greater portion of the decrees of the council of Trent put in execution. But the most important point was the king's determination to confer the bishopricks in future only on catholics\*. Protestants had possessed themselves of the highest as well as the subordinate ecclesiastical dignities ; the nuncio was now empowered to summon them before his tribunal, and to depose them ; a matter of the greatest importance, since a seat and voice in the senate were attached to the episcopal office. It was this very political character of the ecclesiastical institutions of Poland which the nuncio chiefly sought to turn to account. He most earnestly enjoined the bishops to unanimity in their measures at the diet, and these measures he prescribed to them ; with the most powerful, namely, the archbishop of Gnesen and the bishop of Cracow, he had personally formed a strict friendship which was extremely advantageous to him ; and he thus succeeded not only in inspiring the clergy with renovated zeal, but acquired a great influence

\* “ Sendosi (il re) determinato che nessuno possa tenere chiese che non sia della vera fede romana.” (Spannocchi.)



in temporal matters. The English had proposed a commercial treaty with the Poles, which promised to be very advantageous, especially to Dantzic; the nuncio alone prevented its conclusion, chiefly because the English required the most distinct promise that they should be allowed to trade in peace, without molestation on account of their religion\*.

In short, whatever might be the moderation of king Stephen's proceedings, it is certain that catholicism first materially regained its ascendancy under him.

But this change acquired a higher degree of importance from the fact that the most powerful party in Poland, that of the Zamoyskies, to whom, chiefly by the favour of the king, the highest offices of the state were entrusted, now also assumed a catholic complexion†; and it was this faction which, after the death of Stephen, decided the election of his successor. The Zamoyskies placed upon the

\* Spannocchi, "Il che non prima venne agli orecchj del Bolognetto, che andò a trovare S. M<sup>ta</sup>, e con efficacissime ragioni mostrò quanto esorbitante cosa sarebbe stata che avesse concesso per publico decreto una tanto obbrobriosa setta, e come non senza nascosto inganno e speranza d'importantissime conseguenze quella scellerata donna voleva che si dichiarasse così per decreto potersi esercitar la setta Anglicana in quel regno, dove tutto il mondo pur troppo sa che si permetta il credere in materia di religione quel che piace a chi si sia: con queste ed altre efficacissime ragioni il re Stefano rimase talmente persuaso che promesse non voler mai far menzione alcuna di religione, in qualunque accordo avesse fatto con quella regina o suoi mercanti."

† Spannocchi: "Alle dignità senatorie et all' entrate del regno diconi hoggi non ammettersi se non i dependenti da esso cancelliero, acciò che da nissuno venga impedito di far quello che ad esso ed al re più tornerà di piacere di fare."

throne that Swedish prince whom Catherina Jagellonica bore in prison ; and who from his earliest years, either from original inclination, or from the influence of his mother, or perhaps from a hope of succeeding to the Polish crown, or from a combination of all these motives, had remained immoveably firm in the catholic faith, in the midst of a protestant country. The character of mind and opinions of Sigismund III. were entirely moulded by those catholic impulses which at that period agitated all Europe.

Pope Clement VIII. says, in one of his instructions, that he had, while he was yet cardinal and legate in Poland, advised that prince to distribute all public appointments in future exclusively to catholics. This advice had already been often given, by Paul IV., by cardinal Hosius\*, and also by Bolognetto ; but now for the first time it found a soil fitted to receive it. A measure, which neither Sigismund Augustus, nor Stephen could be prevailed upon to adopt, Sigismund III. showed a ready determination to carry through. He established it as a principle to promote only catholics, and pope Clement had perfect reason to ascribe the progress of catholicism in Poland to this measure above all others.

\* In a letter dated 14th of March, 1568, he begs the king to declare “ nullis se deinceps vel honores vel præfecturas vel quæcunque tandem alia munera publice mandaturum nisi qui Christum aperte confessus fuerit et omni perfidiæ sive Lutheristicæ sive Calvinisticæ sive anabaptistarum nuntium remiserit.”

The highest attribute of the kingly power in Poland consisted in the distribution of the great public offices and dignities. All appointments, whether temporal or spiritual, great or small, (and they were said to amount to nearly twenty thousand,) were in the gift of the king. It is obvious what an effect must have been produced by Sigismund's resolution to fill not only ecclesiastical but all offices whatsoever with catholics; to extend the "beneficence of the state," as the Italians once expressed it, the full rights of citizenship in the highest sense of the word, to his co-religionists alone. A man's success in life depended mainly on his skill in ingratiating himself with the bishops and the jesuits. The Starost Ludwig of Mortangen was created Woivode of Pomerellia, chiefly because he presented his house in Thorn to the company of Jesus. In consequence of this a feud arose between the cities and the nobles in the polish-prussian provinces, which assumed a religious complexion. Both parties had originally embraced protestantism, but the nobles now returned to their ancient faith. The example of the houses of Kostka, Dzialinsky and Konopat, which rose to power by abjuring protestantism, exercised the strongest influence upon others. The jesuits' schools were chiefly attended by the young nobility; and we soon find that quarrels arose between the scholars of the jesuits and the citizens' sons in those towns which still remained protestant. The revived spirit of catholicism was chiefly displayed amongst the no-

bility. The college at Pultusk contained four hundred pupils, all noble\*. The general impulse originating in the spirit of the times, the instruction given by the jesuits, the newly-awakened zeal which animated the whole body of the clergy, and the favour of the court, all conspired to dispose the Polish nobility towards a return to catholicism.

It naturally followed that, encouraged by success, the government soon took stronger measures, and that those who did not recant, were made to feel its displeasure.

The catholic clergy of Poland urgently renewed a claim formerly set up; viz. that all ecclesiastical buildings which had been founded by the faithful, at the suggestion or with the co-operation of bishops and frequently of popes, were the unalienable property of their church. In all places where the catholic service had been excluded from the parish churches, the bishops resorted to legal proceedings founded upon that claim. The courts of law were now filled with zealous catholics; and, as might be anticipated, the same suits were instituted and the same judgments obtained, in one town after another. It was of no avail that the sufferers appealed to the king, and reminded him of that confederation, by the terms of which equal protection had been promised to both confessions; he replied, that the very meaning of equal protection was, that each party should be assisted to regain its own rights, and that the confederation contained no

\* Maffei, ii. 140.

clause securing the ecclesiastical buildings to the protestants\*. In a few years the catholics regained possession of all the parish churches in the towns : “ In the parish churches,” exclaims a Polish writer, “ the ancient God is worshiped ;” in the smaller towns of Russian-Poland the lutheran service was performed in a room of the town-hall ; among the larger, Dantzic alone retained its parish church†.

Elated by the success which had crowned their efforts, the catholics were no longer contented with their triumphs over the protestants, but turned their eyes upon the Greek schismatics.

On this point too, the king and the pope united their influence ; and it appears that the threat of exclusion from a seat and a vote in the senate had great effect upon the Greek bishops, some of whom, including Wladika of Wladimir, accordingly determined, in the year 1595, to join the Romish church according to the standard fixed by the council of Florence. Their delegates proceeded to Rome ; papal and royal commissioners appeared in the province ; the ceremony of reconciliation with the church, at which a jesuit, the king’s confessor, preached a sermon full of zeal and enthusiasm, was performed ; and in this part of the Polish dominions also, churches were restored to the catholics.

This was an immense advance in so few years.

\* The circumstantial letter of the Waiwode of Culm, translated by Lengnich, *Polnisch-preussische Geschichte*, Vol. IV. p. 291, particularly details these motives.

† Lengnich, *Nachricht von der Religions änderung in Preussen*, § 27.

“But shortly before,” says a papal nuncio in the year 1598, “it appeared as if heresy would completely supersede catholicism in Poland; now, catholicism bears heresy to its tomb.” Our inquiries into the causes of this revolution lead us to attribute it principally to the personal character and disposition of the king; and these, from his peculiar position, rapidly led him to far more extensive projects.

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## § 2. ATTEMPT UPON SWEDEN.

By the death of his father John, in the year 1592, Sigismund became king of Sweden.

This monarchy was not indeed an absolute one, nor was Sigismund unfettered by personal pledges,—for in the year 1587 he had signed a solemn engagement not only to alter nothing in the ceremonies of the church, but even to promote none but protestants. He now pledged himself anew, to maintain the privileges of the clergy as well as of the laity; neither to love nor hate any one on account of his religion, nor in any manner to endeavour to prejudice the church of the country. Yet in spite of these securities, all the hopes of the catholics and all the fears of the protestants were instantly excited.

The earnest wish of the catholics to have a king of their own faith in Sweden was now granted them. Surrounded by a catholic retinue which even included a papal nuncio, Malaspina, Sigismund

made his entry into his hereditary dominions in July 1593. Already had his progress through the Prussian provinces been marked by the advancement of catholicism: Bartholomeus Powsinsky, a papal envoy, hastened to meet him at Dantzic, with a present of 20,000 scudi, “a small contribution,” as it was called in his instructions, “towards the expenses which would attend the re-establishment of catholicism.”

These instructions are very remarkable, as showing with what confidence this re-establishment was hoped for and recommended in Rome\*.

“Powsinsky,” they state, “a confidential servant of his holiness and vassal of your majesty, has been commissioned to express to your majesty the interest taken by the pope in the joyful events which have lately occurred to you; the safe delivery of your wife, the happy issue of the last diet, but above all, the greatest felicity which could have befallen you, namely, the opportunity now afforded you to re-establish catholicism in your hereditary dominions.” The pope failed not to indicate some new points of view under which this work might be regarded.

“Without doubt it was through God’s special providence,” he adds, “that several sees were at that moment vacant,—among others the archbishoprick of Upsal†. Should the king delay for a mo-

\* Instruttione al Sr. Bartolommeo Powsinsky alla M<sup>a</sup> del re di Polonia e Suetia. (MS. Rom.)

† “Intendendosi restar vacante l’arcivescovato di Upsalia, che la divina provvidenza per più facilitare le cose del suo servitio non

ment to remove the protestant bishops still remaining in the country, he would assuredly at any rate fill the vacant benefices with orthodox believers." The envoy was furnished with a list of Swedish catholics who appeared qualified for those offices. The pope expressed his conviction that these bishops would immediately endeavour to secure the services of catholic priests and schoolmasters. It must be the king's care to put it in their power to do so.

"It might perhaps be possible," he adds, "immediately to found a jesuits' college in Stockholm; but if this could not be effected, the king might certainly take with him into Poland as many young Swedes of good capacity as he could find, and have them educated at his court in the catholic faith by some of the most zealous bishops, or in the Polish jesuits' colleges."

The pope's first object here, as elsewhere, was to reduce the clergy once more to obedience; but the nuncio had another project in view, viz. to instigate the catholics who still remained in Sweden, to institute legal proceedings against the protestants; for the king would then occupy the position of judge over both parties, and every arbitrary change would assume the appearance of a legal decision\*. He was only sorry that Sigismund had

ha permesso che in due anni sia stato provveduto dal re morto, haverà S. M<sup>ta</sup> particolare pensiero a pigliare un arcivescovo cattolico."

\* Ragguaglio dell' andata del Re di Polonia in Suetia. (MS. Rom.) "Erano tuttavia nel regno alcune reliquie de' cattolici: et



not brought with him a stronger armed force to give effect to his edicts.

There is however no proof that the king had fully adopted the views of the Roman court ; judging from his own declarations, it would appear that his intentions at first were only to procure for the catholics some few immunities, and that he did not contemplate the overthrow of the protestant constitution. But would it be in his power to restrain the fanatical impulses which actuated his court, and the representatives of which were in his train ? Was it to be believed that he could stop at that precise point, when he should have reached it ?

The protestants were not disposed to abide the trial. The views which were cherished by the one party called forth from the other an instant and almost unconscious opposition.

Immediately after the death of John, the Swedish councillors of state,—names illustrious both in the earlier and later history of Sweden : Gyllenstiern, Bielke, Baner, Sparre, Oxenstiern,—united themselves to the brother of the late and uncle of the present king, another of the sons of Gustavus Vasa, the zealously protestant duke Charles ; “ agreed to recognise him, in the absence of his nephew, as governor of the kingdom, and promised him obedience in all things that he should do for the maintenance of the Augsburg confession in Swe-

il nuntio seguendo la forma già tenuta da Cl. Madruzzo, per fortificar l' autorità dell' imperatore, cercava di costituire il re giudice tra li cattolici e gli heretici di Suetia, inducendo quelli a querelarsi appresso il re dell' insolenza e delle ingiurie di questi.”

den.” In furtherance of this object a council was held at Upsal in March 1593. The Augsburg confession of faith was here proclaimed afresh, the liturgy of king John condemned, and everything in the existing ritual which retained a trace of catholic ceremonies, altered; the rite of exorcism was retained, but in a milder form, and for the sake of its moral significance\*; and a declaration was drawn up, that no heresy, whether popish or calvinistic, would be tolerated in the country†. In the same spirit appointments were made to public offices. Many former defenders of the liturgy now renounced it; but this abjuration did not in all cases avail to protect those who made it from dismissal. The vacant dioceses, upon the filling up of which such magnificent schemes had been founded in Rome, were bestowed upon lutherans; the archbishopric of Upsal upon M. Abraham Angermanus, the most vehement opponent of the liturgy. The clergy, by an immense majority, placed at their head the most strenuous lutheran they could find;

\* For we are not to believe with Messenius, that it was done away with. The words “Faar här uth” were merely changed for the words “Wick här ifra;” and the reply made to duke Charles, who required that the forms of exorcism should be entirely abolished, was, “retinendum esse exorcismum tanquam liberam cerimoniam propter utilem commonefactionem ad auditorium et baptismi spectatores permanantem;” a view of the case to which the duke assented. Baaz, Inventarium, iv. x. 525. In Baaz may be found the documents, in general tolerably complete.

† “Concilium definit,” it further says, “ne hæreticis advenientibus detur locus publice conveniendi.”

he had two hundred and forty-three, and his next competitor only thirty-eight votes.

Up to the latter years of king John's reign a moderate party, not so directly opposed to papacy as the protestants in other countries, had existed, and by their aid Sigismund might easily have brought about a change such as the catholics wished ; but now the extreme party had been beforehand with them, and protestantism had established itself more firmly than ever.

Even the royal prerogatives of Sigismund were not spared. He was no longer considered as the true and legitimate king, but rather as a foreigner possessing a claim to the throne ; an apostate, who must be jealously watched as dangerous to religion. The great majority of the nation, unanimous in their protestant convictions, joined duke Charles.

The king was well aware of his isolated position on his arrival. He could do nothing, and only endeavoured to evade the demands made upon him.

But while he awaited in silence what time would produce, the hostile creeds, which had never yet stood in such direct opposition in Sweden, came into open collision. The lutheran preachers broke out into invectives against the papists, and the jesuits who preached in the court chapel were not slow in answering them. The catholics in the king's suite took possession of a lutheran church on occasion of a burial, after which the protestants held it necessary for some time to abstain from using their desecrated sanctuary. These hostile demon-

strations soon led to acts of violence ; the heiduks had recourse to force to obtain possession of a pulpit which was shut, and the nuncio was accused of having ordered stones to be thrown from the windows of his house upon some young protestant choristers ; in short, the mutual exasperation increased every moment.

At length the court proceeded to Upsal to celebrate the coronation. The Swedes demanded above all things the confirmation of the decrees of their council. The king resisted, declaring that he desired only toleration for the catholics ; indeed he would have been contented, had he been permitted to entertain a hope of having power to grant this at some future time. But the Swedish protestants were inflexible. It is said, that the king's own sister\* told them, that it was his nature to make a long and obstinate resistance, but at length to yield ; and that she impressed on them the necessity of reiterating their attacks upon him. They demanded absolutely that in all parts of the kingdom the doctrines of the Augsburg confession should be taught purely and exclusively in the churches and schools†. At their head stood duke Charles. The position which he occupied gave him an independence and a power such as he could never have hoped to attain ; and, by inevitable consequence, his personal intercourse

\* The Ragguaglio calls her "ostinatissima eretica."

† Messenius, vii. 19 : "Absolute urgebant ut confessio Augustana qualis sub ultimo Gustavi regimine et primi Johannis in patria viguisset, talis in posterum unica sola et ubique tam in ecclesiis quam in scholis perpetuo floreret."

with the king daily became more disagreeable and bitter. The king was, as we have seen, almost without an armed force, while the duke assembled several thousand men on his own domains around the town. At last the Estates plainly declared to the king, that they would not do homage to him if he refused to comply with their demands\*.

The unfortunate prince felt all the painful embarrassment of his situation. He could not yield without violence to his conscience; he could not refuse without the loss of a throne.

In this perplexity he first asked the nuncio whether he might not give way; but no arguments could induce Malaspina to sanction such a course.

The king next addressed himself to the jesuits in his suite; they took upon themselves a responsibility which the nuncio had not dared to accept. They declared that, in consideration of the necessity of the case, and of the undeniable and imminent danger in which the king was placed, he might comply with the demands of the heretics, without offending God. The king was not satisfied until he held in his hands their decision in writing. Under the shelter of this authority he proceeded to grant the demands of his subjects; he confirmed the decrees of Upsal, the exclusive exercise of religion as prescribed by the genuine unaltered Augsburg confession, without the smallest admixture of foreign

\* *Supplicatio ordinum* : " Quodsi cl. rex denegaverit subditis regiam approbationem horum postulatorum, inhibent nostri fratres domi remanentes publicum homagium esse S. R. M. præstandum."

doctrine, in church or school ; and promised that none should be employed in the public service who were not prepared to defend that confession\*. He recognised the appointments of the prelates who had been nominated to their sees in opposition to his will.

But could his catholic heart find peace in such a state of things ? Could his romanist court content itself with a result which it must so thoroughly condemn ? It would have been most unreasonable to expect it.

They had recourse to the expedient so often employed in similar cases ; they protested. “ The nuncio,” says the report of the transaction sent to Rome, in the words of which I can best relate this occurrence, “ was most zealously employed in devising some mode of escape from the irregularity which had taken place. He succeeded in inducing the king, for the safety of his conscience, to make a written protest, in which he declared that what he had conceded had been wrung from him by force and against his will. The nuncio further prevailed on the king to make corresponding concessions to the catholics, that so he might be pledged to both parties in Sweden as well as in Poland, in like manner as the emperor of Germany. With this the king was satisfied †.”

\* The words however run so, that they leave open a chance of evasion. “ Ad officia publica nulli promovebuntur in patria qui religionem evangelicam nolunt salvam, quin potius qui eam serio defendere volunt publicis officiis præficientur.” (Generalis confirmatio postulatum regis Sigismundi, in Baaz, p. 537.)

† Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico del Regno di Suezia

This is a most curious device ; one protest was not enough ; so in order in some degree to get rid of an obligation formally incurred by oath to the one party, the king took an oath of directly contrary tendency to the other. Thus, being equally pledged to both parties, he would be compelled to bestow equal justice.

The Swedes were astonished that the king, after such solemn promises, should yet grant the catholics a protection which he took little trouble to conceal. His conduct doubtless arose from this secret pledge. “ Even before his departure,” continues our informant with complacency, “ the king conferred offices and dignities upon true catholics. He made four governors, though heretics, swear to protect the catholics and their religion, and re-

1598. “ Mandò alcuni senatori Polacchi a darle parte dello stato delle cose in le sue circostanze e conseguenze, e detti patri dichiararono che presupposto la necessità e pericolo nel quale era costituita la M<sup>ta</sup> S. la potesse senza offender Dio concedere alli heretici ciò che ricercavano, e la M<sup>ta</sup> S. per sua giustificazione ne volle uno scritto da detti patri. . . . Hora fatta la coronatione e concessione pose ogni studio il nunzio per applicare qualche rimedio al disordine seguito, onde operò per sicurezza della coscienza di S. M<sup>a</sup> ch’ella facesse una protesta in scritto, come ella non con la volontà sua ma per pura forza si era indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso ; e persuase al s<sup>mo</sup> re che concedesse da parte agli cattolici altrettanto quanto haveva concesso alli heretici, di modo che a guisa dell’ imperatore e del re di Polonia restasse la M<sup>a</sup> S. giurata utrique parti. S. M. si contentò di farlo, et immediatamente mise in esecuzione le dette concessioni : perchè avanti la sua partenza diede ufficij e dignità a cattolici, e lasciò in quattro luoghi l’ esercizio della religione e fece giurare a quattro governatori, se ben erano heretici, quali lasciò nel regno, che haverebbero protetto la religione e li cattolici.”

established in four places the exercise of the catholic service.”

These were measures which might appease the unquiet conscience of a bigoted prince, but which could have no other than a mischievous influence upon the affairs of the country ; for the constant irritation in which they kept the Estates of Sweden, strengthened and exasperated their hostility to the court.

The clergy reformed their schools in the strictest lutheran spirit, and directed a special thanksgiving for the maintenance of the true religion “ against the devices and stratagems of the jesuits ;” in the year 1595 a resolution was passed at the diet of Südercöping, that all exercise of the catholic rites, wheresoever the king might have established them, was again to be prohibited. “ We unanimously resolve,” is the expression of the estates, “ that all sectaries hostile to the lutheran religion, who have established themselves in this country, shall quit the kingdom within six weeks\* ;” and these resolutions were carried into effect with the utmost rigour. The convent of Wadstena, which had existed for two hundred and eleven years, and had remained uninjured through so many convulsions, was now dissolved and destroyed.

Angermannus held an ecclesiastical visitation which had never been equalled for searching rigour ; those who neglected the lutheran churches were punished with stripes, the archbishop having with

\* *Acta ecclesię in conventu Sudercop. in Baaz, 567.*



him several robust young students, who carried the punishment into execution under his own eyes. The altars of the saints were destroyed, their relics scattered, and ceremonies which in the year 1593 had been declared matters of indifference, were now in 1597 abolished.

The relation subsisting between Sigismund and Charles gave a personal character to this conflict. All that was done, was in opposition to the well-known will and command of the king ; in all, the influence of duke Charles was felt to be predominant. It was contrary to the express command of Sigismund that the duke held the assembly of the diet ; he endeavoured to prevent any interference of the king in the affairs of the country ; and caused a resolution to be passed, in virtue of which the rescripts of the king were not valid till they were confirmed by the Swedish government\*.

Charles was already in substance sovereign and ruler of the kingdom ; and the thought soon suggested itself to become so in title also. A dream which he had in 1595, is one of the indications of what was passing in his mind. He thought he was at a feast in Finland, and a covered double dish was placed before him ; on removing the cover, he saw in the one part the insignia of the crown ; in the other, a death's head. Similar thoughts seem to have been afloat in the nation ; there was a story

\* *Ausa illustrissimi principis domini Caroli Sudermanniae ducis adversus serenissimum et potentissimum dominum Sigismundum III. regem Sueciae et Poloniae suscepta, scripta et publicata ex mandato S. R. Majestatis proprio. Dant. 1598.*

current in the country, that in Linköping a crowned eagle had been seen contending with an uncrowned one, and that the latter had been victorious.

But when things had reached this pass,—when the ascendancy of protestant opinions had been maintained by such harsh and violent means, and so successfully as to give their champion a sort of claim to the highest power in the state, a party arose in favour of the king. Some few nobles who had appealed to his authority against the duke were banished, but their adherents remained ; the common people were discontented at the abolition of all ceremonies, and attributed to that cause whatever disasters happened in the country ; in Finland, Flemming the governor openly held the field in the king's name.

This was a state of affairs which rendered it a matter of necessity as well as of expediency to king Sigismund, to make an appeal to arms. It was probably the latest moment at which it would be possible for him to re-establish his power. In the summer of 1598, he set out for the second time to take possession of his hereditary dominions.

He was now more strictly catholic, if possible, than before. In the simplicity of his bigotry, he believed that the various misfortunes which had befallen him since his first journey (among others the death of his wife), had been sent him as punishments for the concessions he had then made to the heretics, and he disclosed these painful thoughts to the nuncio with deep contrition of heart ; declaring that he would rather die than again sanc-

tion anything which would stain the purity of his conscience.

But the cause espoused by Sigismund was in some sense an European one. Catholicism had made such progress that an enterprise in its favour, even in so remote a corner of Europe, was principally regarded as a branch of a general combination.

During their war with England, the Spaniards had already cast their eyes occasionally towards the Swedish coasts; they perceived that the possession of a Swedish port would be of the greatest advantage to them, and had entered into negotiations with a view to obtain one. It was now regarded as certain that Sigismund, the moment he should be master in his own country, would give up to them Elfsborg in West Gothland. Here it would be easy to build a fleet, to keep it ready for service, and to man it with Poles and Swedes: from hence they could wage war on England with far greater advantage than from the shores of Spain, and soon force her to desist from her aggressions on their Indian dominions. On the other hand, an alliance with the catholic monarch could not prove otherwise than advantageous to the authority of the king in Sweden\*.

But the catholics looked further. They thought that they might thus acquire power in Finland

\* *Relatione dello stato spirituale e politico.* The proposal is, “Che a spese del cattolico si mantenga un presidio nella fortezza che guardi il porto, sopra lo quale niuna superiorità habbia il cattolico, ma consegna lo stipendio per esso presidio al re di Polonia.”

and on the shores of the Baltic. From Finland they hoped to be able to make a successful attack upon Russia, and when once in possession of the Baltic, to bring the duchy of Prussia into subjection. As yet, the electoral house of Brandenburg had failed in its endeavours to procure the investiture of this fief; the nuncio asserted that the king had determined not to grant it, but on the contrary to attach the duchy to the crown; he endeavoured by every argument to confirm him in this intention; chiefly of course from religious considerations, for it was certain that the house of Brandenburg would never consent to the restoration of catholicism in Prussia\*.

When we consider on the one hand, the extent of the schemes which were built on the king's success (a result by no means improbable), and on the other, the weight which Sweden would acquire in the scale of nations if the protestants were victorious, we must admit that the issue of this struggle was one of those events which decided the destinies of Europe.

Zamoysky had advised the king to enter Sweden at the head of a strong army, and to conquer it by force of arms. King Sigismund thought that this was not necessary; he could not bring himself to believe that he should be forcibly resisted in his

\* *Relatione di Polonia*, 1598: "Atteso che se rimarrà il ducato nelli Brandeburgesi non si può aspettare d'introdurre la religione cattolica, si mostra S. M<sup>ta</sup> risoluto di voler ricuperare il detto ducato." King Stephen ought already to have done this. "Ma ritrovandosi con penuria di danari mentre era occupato nelle guerre, ne fu sovvenuto delli Brandeburgesi."

own irregular companies. He had about 5000 men with him and having joined with them at Carlskrona, where the Swedish fleet lay, upon Stockholm, where a great number of his troops had already arrived, he soon entered into the city. Meanwhile a body of Finlanders advanced upon Upland.

Not had Duke Charles been idle. If the king succeeded, it was evident that his power and the ascendancy of protestantism were at an end. Whilst his peasants of Upland held the Fins in check, he posted himself at the head of a regular military force in the way of the king, who was marching upon Stegeborg. He demanded that the royal army should be withdrawn, and the matters in dispute referred to the decision of the diet; on these conditions he promised to disband his own troops.

The king would not consent to them, and the hostile armies advanced against each other.

Their number was inconsiderable, a few thousand men on either side; but the result of the conflict was not less momentous, the consequences not less lasting, than if vast armies had been sacrificed to obtain them.

Everything depended upon the personal character of the princes. Charles was his own counsellor;—daring, determined,—a man in the fullest sense of the word, and what was more important, in actual possession: Sigismund, dependent upon others; yielding, good-natured, no soldier; and now under the unfortunate necessity of conquering a country which belonged to him, the legitimate king indeed,

but compelled to do battle for his kingdom with the actual ruler.

Twice the troops were engaged near Stangebros, the first time more through accident than design ; on this occasion the king had the advantage, and is said to have put a stop to the massacre of the Swedes. But the second time, when, in consequence of the rising of the Dalcarlians in his favour and the arrival of his fleet, the duke was victorious, no one checked the slaughter of the Poles ; Sigismund suffered a total defeat, and was forced to accede to all that was required of him\*.

He even consented to give up the few faithful subjects he had found, to be tried by a Swedish tribunal ; and, in his own cause, he promised to abide by the decision of the diet.

But this was only a mode of escaping from the embarrassment of the moment ; instead of attending the diet, where he must have acted the melancholy part of the conquered, he sailed for Dantzic with the first favourable wind.

He flattered himself indeed with the hope of becoming at some future time,—some more favourable moment,—lord of his hereditary dominions ; but in fact he abandoned them, by his departure, to the overwhelming influence of his uncle, who did not scruple shortly afterwards to assume the title of king, and instead of awaiting the war in Sweden,

\* *Piacesii Chronicon gestorum in Europa singularium*, p. 159. Extracts from the letters of the princes in Geijer ; *Schwedische Geschichte*, ii. p. 305.

transferred it to the frontiers of Poland, where it was carried on with various success.

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§ 3. DESIGNS ON RUSSIA.

In a short time, however, it appeared as if this failure was to be atoned for by success in another quarter.

It is well known how many times the popes had entertained the hope of gaining over Russia; Adrian VI. and Clement VII. had successively attempted it; the jesuit Possevin had next tried his influence with Iwan Wasiljowitsch; and in the year 1594 Clement VIII. sent a certain Comuleo to Moscow, with more than usual confidence of success, in consequence of his acquaintance with the language: but all these endeavours were vain; Boris Godunow declared, “that Moscow was now the true and orthodox Rome,” and directed that prayers should be offered up for him, “as the only christian ruler upon earth.”

Under these discouraging circumstances, the prospect which the appearance of the false Demetrius most unexpectedly opened was doubly welcome.

Demetrius identified himself perhaps even more with the religious than with the political interests of Poland. A catholic confessor was the first person to whom he discovered himself, and it was not till after the jesuit fathers had been sent to examine him,

that the papal nuncio Rangone espoused his cause ; at the same time declaring to him at their first interview, that he had nothing to hope if he did not renounce the schismatical and embrace the catholic religion. To this Demetrius made but little demur ; indeed he had already promised to quit the Greek church, and on the following Sunday he openly avowed his conversion\*. He was delighted that Sigismund immediately recognised his claims (which he justly ascribed to the influence of the nuncio), and promised to do all that lay in his power for the spread and defence of the roman catholic faith† ; a promise of vast import. At that time his story was not generally believed in Poland ; what then was the general astonishment when the miserable fugitive soon afterwards took possession of the palace of the Czars ! The sudden death of his predecessor, in which the common people beheld a judgment of God, perhaps mainly contributed to his success.

Demetrius now renewed his promises ; received the nephew of the nuncio with every mark of honour and reverence ; and, as he was soon after joined by his Polish consort, attended by a numer-

\* Alessandro Cilli, *Historia di Moscovia*, p. 11. Cilli was present at the act. In Karamsin, x. p. 109 of the translation, there is a passage, which is not quite so much in accordance with Cilli as it may seem. Karamsin did not understand Cilli. We do not find in Cilli anything like the words which Karamsin has put into the mouth of Demetrius.

† Cilli : “ Con rinnovare insieme la promessa dell’ augumento e difesa per quanto havessero potuto le sue forze e nel suo imperio e fuori di quello della santa fede cattolica.”



ous court, consisting not only of knights and ladies, but of a still larger retinue of monks,—dominicans, franciscans, and jesuits\*,—it appeared that he intended promptly to perform them. But it was this zeal for catholicism which mainly caused his ruin; for while it secured him the support of the Poles, it deprived him of the favour of the Russians. They remarked that he did not bathe nor eat like them; that he did not reverence the saints; he was a heathen, and had placed an unbaptized heathen wife upon the throne of Moscow; it was impossible that he should be the son of a czar†.

They had recognised him in consequence of a groundless and inexplicable belief; this rapidly gave place to another and a stronger, under the influence of which they dethroned him.

Here, too, religion was the real and effective agent: a power arose in Russia, as well as in Sweden, which from its very origin and nature was directly opposed to catholicism.

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#### § 4. TROUBLES IN POLAND.

Abortive enterprises against a foreign enemy have generally the effect of exciting internal commotions. An agitation now showed itself in Poland which made it doubtful whether the king would be able to carry on the government in the

\* Cilli, p. 66.

† Müller, *Sammlung Russischer Gesch.*, v. 373, remarks that letters from the pope were found upon him.

spirit in which he had commenced it. This movement had its origin in the following causes.

King Sigismund was not careful to maintain a good understanding with those through whose exertions he had ascended the throne. This party had elected him in opposition to the wishes of Austria; he, on the contrary, allied himself closely with that power. He twice took a wife from the line of Grätz, and at one time incurred the suspicion of wishing to place that family on the throne.

The king's conduct had already disgusted his chancellor Zamoyisky; but when Sigismund, in order to render himself independent of his adherents and defenders, promoted their enemies to the highest offices and received them into the senate\*, his disgust was changed into the deepest resentment. For it was chiefly by means of the senate that Sigismund sought to govern. He filled it with men personally devoted to him, and at the same time thoroughly catholic. The bishops, who were nominated by the king under the influence of the nuncio, formed a strong and, by degrees, an omnipotent party.

Hence arose a formidable twofold opposition, directed both against the constitution and the religion of the Polish government.

\* Cilli, *Historia delle Sollevationi di Polonia*, 1606—1608, Pistoia 1627,—an author the more worthy of credit, as he was a long time in the service of the king,—enlarges in the very beginning upon the power possessed by Zamoyisky: “Zamoschi si voleva alquanto della regia autorità usurpare;” but relates how the king began to resist him, “essendo patrone S. M<sup>ta</sup> non solo di conferire le dignità del regno, ma anco le stesse entrate.”

The provincial deputies formed a political body opposed to the senate ; and as the latter took part with the king, the former joined Zamoyisky\*, for whom they entertained boundless veneration, and who owed to their willing submission an authority little less than royal. This was a position which must have had peculiar charms for an ambitious magnate ; and no sooner was it vacant by the death of the high chancellor, than it was occupied by the palatine of Cracow, Zebrzydowsky.

The protestants now joined this party. The bishops were, in reality, the objects of their common hatred ; the former detested them on account of their spiritual, the latter, on account of their temporal influence. The protestants declared it was monstrous, that in a commonwealth like that of Poland, which rested upon free agreement, well-earned rights should be incessantly infringed ; that men of low birth should be raised to the highest dignities, and men of noble blood compelled to obey them. This grievance was also alleged by many catholics†.

There can be no doubt that religious animosities gave a vehement impulse to the disturbances of Poland.

After the grievances had been frequently brought forward, the supplies refused, and the diet dissolved,

\* Piasecius : “ Zamoyscius cujus autoritate potissimum nitebatur ordo nunciorum.” From this time the country deputies began to have greater influence : one party supported the other.

† Cilli : “ Gli eretici, spalleggiati da cattivi cattolici, facevano gran forza per ottenere la confederatione.”

—all without avail,—the malcontents adopted the last resource ; they summoned the whole body of nobility to the Rocotz. The Rocotz was a legitimate form of insurrection, according to which the assembled nobility claimed a right of summoning king and senate before their tribunal. In this assembly the lutherans were greatly strengthened by their union with the professors of the Greek faith.

Meantime the king had also his partisans. The nuncio held the bishops together\* ; the bishops directed the proceedings of the senate, and a league was formed between these bodies for the defence of the throne and the altar. This favourable moment was adroitly seized to obliterate the old divisions between the laity and the clergy. The king showed inflexible firmness in the moment of danger ; trusting, as he said, in his righteous cause, and in God.

And in fact he maintained his ascendancy ; in October 1606, he dissolved the Rocotz at the time when a great number of the members were absent : in July 1607, the parties came to a regular engagement ; uttering the cry of *Jesu Maria*, the king's troops attacked the enemy and completely routed them. Zebrzydowsky kept the field for a while, but in the year 1608, he was obliged to submit, and a general amnesty was then proclaimed.

By these successes the government was enabled to follow out the catholic course in which it had embarked. Those who were not catholics remained excluded from office ; and we may judge of the ef-

\* Cilli : “ Il nuntio Rangone con sua destrezza e diligenza tenne e conservò in fede molti dei principali.”

fects of this measure by the applause it constantly drew from Rome \*. “ A protestant prince—a prince who would have distributed high and honourable places among both parties equally—would have filled the whole country with heresy ; for in an age so selfish as this, private interests are too strong for religious attachments ; but since the king had displayed so much constancy, the nobles had learned to obey his will.”

The protestant service was also restricted in the royal towns ; “ the inhabitants were compelled,” says a papal instruction, “ to change their religion, although not by open violence †.”

The nuncio took care that the highest tribunals should be filled with judges attached to the catholic church, and that justice should be administered in them in strict accordance with the precepts of the holy canons. The question of mixed marriages now acquired the highest importance. The supreme court of justice would recognise the validity

\* Istruttione a V. S<sup>ra</sup> M<sup>re</sup> di Torres : “ Il re, benchè nato di padre e fra popoli eretici, è tanto pio e tanto divoto e di santi costumi guernito, che dentro a Roma non avrebbe potuto nascere o allevarsene un migliore, imperocchè havendo esso con la lunghezza del regnare mutati i senatori eretici, che se tre ne togliono erano tutti, gli ha fatto divenire, levatine due o tre, tutti quanti cattolici.” Their principle was, “ le cose spirituali seguono il corso delle temporali.”

† Istruttione a M<sup>r</sup> Lancelotti : “ La conforti [the king] grandemente a vietare che nelle città regie che da lei dipendono altro esercizio di religione che il cattolico si comporti, nè permetta che v'abbiano tempj nè sinagoge loro : poichè si vengono per tal dolce modo senza violenza espressa a far convertire o a mutar paese.”

of none which were not performed in the presence of a priest and several witnesses ; but the priests refused to bestow the benediction upon mixed marriages ; it was no wonder, therefore, that many conformed to the catholic religion rather than subject their children to all the disadvantages consequent upon marriages of disputable validity. Others were forced into conformity by finding that church patronage in the hands of protestants was subjected to legal dispute. A government possesses a thousand means of promoting the religion which it favours ; and here all were applied, short of direct compulsion : the work of conversion proceeded, with little noise or ostentation indeed, but with unstayed progress.

Doubtless the zeal and ability with which the nuncios administered the ecclesiastical affairs, had a considerable share in producing this result. They took care that the sees should be filled with men well fitted for their high office ; they visited the convents, and put an end to a practice which had been introduced, of sending disobedient and refractory monks, whom their superiors or convents wanted to be rid of, into Poland ; they also directed their attention to the secular clergy, and endeavoured to introduce psalmody and schools into the parishes. They insisted upon the establishment of episcopal seminaries.

Their most efficient agents were the jesuits, whom we find actively employed in all the provinces ; among the docile Livonians,—in Lithuania, where they had to contend with traces of the old

worship of the serpent,—and among the Greeks, where the jesuits were frequently the only catholic priests : sometimes they had to administer baptism to youths of eighteen ; sometimes they met with aged men who had never received the Lord's Supper ; but it was chiefly in Poland proper “ that,” as one of the members exultingly says, “ hundreds of learned, orthodox, and devout men of the order are employed in rooting out errors, and implanting catholic piety by schools and associations, by preaching and writing\*.”

In this, as in every other country, they awakened enthusiasm in their followers ; but here it was most unfortunately united to the insolence of an overbearing young nobility. Though the king abstained from acts of violence, the pupils of the jesuits thought themselves authorized to commit them. It was no unusual thing for them to celebrate Ascension-day by a general attack upon the protestants, whose houses they broke into, plundering and destroying, and whose persons were not secure from outrage and danger if they were found at home or met in the streets.

In 1606 the church, and in 1607 the churchyard, of the lutherans in Cracow was attacked, and the dead bodies dragged out of their graves : in 1611 the church of the protestants in Wilna was destroyed, and their ministers ill-treated or murdered : in 1615 a book was published in Posen,

\* *Argentus de rebus Societatis Jesu in regno Poloniae*, 1615. A work which might, however, have been rendered far more instructive.

setting forth that the lutherans had no right to live in that town ; and the following year the jesuits' scholars utterly destroyed the Bohemian church, leaving not one stone upon another, and burned the lutheran church. Similar outrages were perpetrated in various other places, and in some the protestants were driven by incessant acts of violence, to sell their churches. The jesuits soon ceased to confine their outrages to the towns ; the Cracow students burned the protestant churches in the neighbouring villages. In Podlachia an aged lutheran minister, of the name of Barkow, was walking before his carriage leaning upon his staff, when a Polish nobleman who met him, ordered his coachman to drive directly over him ; before the old man could get out of the road, the horses were upon him, and he received injuries of which he died\*.

Nevertheless, protestantism could not be wholly suppressed. The king was bound by a promise which he had not power to retract. The nobles were subject to no constraint, and did not all immediately abjure their religion. Occasionally too, amidst many adverse judgements, a favourable one was obtained, and here and there a church was restored to the protestants. In the cities of Polish Prussia the protestants always formed the majority ; the Greek schismatics were still less to be gotten rid of, and the union of 1595 excited hatred rather than imitation. Thus the combined body of dissi-

\* Wengerscii Slavonia Reformata, p. 224, 232, 236, 244, 247.



dents, consisting of protestants and Greeks, still formed a powerful party. Their demands came with peculiar weight backed by the most industrious and thriving cities, and by the most warlike tribes, such as the Cossacks ; and their opposition became more formidable from the growing efficiency of the support afforded by their neighbours, the Russians and Swedes, who had successfully resisted every attempt to subdue them to catholicism.

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§ 5. PROGRESS OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION  
IN GERMANY.

Principles of a totally different nature and tendency prevailed in Germany, where every prince held it to be his unquestionable right to establish in his dominions the religion to which he was himself attached ; and in consequence, the movement in favour of catholicism, the beginnings of which we have already traced, continued its course without much interference from imperial authority, and without exciting much attention.

The ecclesiastical princes especially held it to be their duty to lead back their subjects to the catholic faith. Here again we find the pupils of the jesuits early and active in the field of proselytism. John Adam von Bicken, elector of Mayence from 1601 to 1604, was a student of the Collegium Germanicum in Rome. It is reported that on hearing the lutheran congregation, in the castle of

Königstein, singing hymns at the funeral service of their minister, he exclaimed, “ Let them give their synagogue decent burial ! ” On the following Sunday a jesuit ascended the pulpit, in which a lutheran preacher was never again beheld. The same occurred elsewhere\*. What Bicken left undone, was zealously completed by his successor, John Schweikard. He was a man attached in a remarkable degree to the pleasures of the table, but endowed with the character and the talents requisite for the business of government. He succeeded in carrying through the counter-reformation in every part of his diocese, even in Eichsfeld. He sent a commission to Heiligenstadt, which within two years converted two hundred citizens, many of whom had grown grey in the protestant faith. Some few yet remained unshaken ; these he exhorted in person, “ as their father and their shepherd, from his inmost heart,” to use his own words, and his exhortations were successful. He saw with extraordinary pleasure a city which had been thoroughly protestant for forty years, restored to the catholic church†.

The same course was followed by Ernest and Ferdinand of Cologne, both of them Bavarian princes, and by the elector Lothaire, of the house of Metternich of Trèves,—a prince distinguished by

\* Serarius, *Res Moguntinæ*, p. 973.

† Wolf, *Geschichte von Heiligenstadt*, p. 63. In the interval between 1581 and 1601, the number of converts was reckoned at 497 ; the greatest number in the year 1598, in which they amounted to 73.

the acuteness of his understanding, and by the talent of overcoming whatever difficulties presented themselves; prompt in the execution of justice, vigilant in pushing the interests of his country, as well as those of his family; and, where religion was not concerned, affable and indulgent. On that point he was inexorable; he would not tolerate a protestant in his court\*. To these great men Neithard von Thüngen, bishop of Bamberg, associated himself. When he took possession of his capital, he found the whole council protestant, with the exception of two of its members. He had already assisted in the reforms of bishop Julius in Würzburg, and he now determined to apply the measures of that prelate to Bamberg. He immediately (at Christmas, 1595,) promulgated his reformation-edict, which ordained the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the catholic rite, on pain of exile; and although the chapter, the nobility, and the gentry opposed him, although the most urgent representations were made by the neighbouring princes, we find that in every successive year the reformation-edicts were renewed and substantially executed†. If we look to northern Germany, we find that Theodore von Fürstenberg rivalled in Paderborn the acts of bishop Neithard in Bamberg. In the year 1596, he imprisoned all the priests of his diocese who administered the sacrament in both kinds; this

\* Masenius, *Continuatio Broweri*, p. 474.

† Jäck, *Geschichte von Bamberg*, e. g. iii. 212, 199. Or rather I refer generally to this book, which is principally occupied with the subject of the anti-reformation.

naturally produced dissensions between himself and his nobility, and we accordingly find the bishop and the nobles engaged in driving each other's cattle and horses. He also eventually came to an open rupture with the city; where, unfortunately, a violent demagogue arose, who had not the character or talents fitted for the high part which he had undertaken. In the year 1604, Paderborn was compelled to do homage anew. Immediately after, the jesuits' college was magnificently established and endowed, and an edict appeared which, like that of Bamberg, left no alternative but attendance at mass, or exile. Catholicism thus gradually regained absolute possession of Bamberg and Paderborn\*.

The rapid and yet lasting change which was wrought in all these provinces, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in history. Are we to infer from it that protestantism had not struck deep root among the people? or are we to ascribe it to the method pursued by the jesuits? It is at any rate certain that the members of that order were deficient neither in zeal nor in prudence. From every point where they had obtained a firm footing, we see the circles of their influence spreading wider and wider. We see them skilled to captivate the multitude, and drawing crowds to their churches. We observe them always attacking the most prominent and formidable difficulties; wherever there is a lutheran confidant in his biblical knowledge,

\* Strunk, *Annales Paderborn*. lib. xxii. p. 720.

to whose judgement the neighbours defer, we find them leaving no means untried to win him over to their side, and from their practised skill in controversy, seldom failing of success. We see them employed in works of active beneficence, healing the sick and reconciling enemies. Those whom they subdued by their address or their services, they bound to them by solemn oaths. We see bands of the faithful marching under their banner to every place of pilgrimage, and even men who had been the most zealous protestants now joining in the processions.

The jesuits had educated not only spiritual, but temporal princes ; among whom, at the close of the 16th century, their two most illustrious pupils, Ferdinand II. and Maximilian I., appeared on the stage of Europe.

It is said that when the young archduke Ferdinand celebrated the festival of Easter in the year 1596, in his capital of Grätz, he was the only individual who received the sacrament according to the catholic ritual ; that there were indeed but three catholics in the whole city\*.

In fact, after the death of the archduke Charles, and during the feeble minority of his successor, the catholic cause had rather retrograded. The protestants had regained possession of the churches from which they had been ejected, and their schools

\* Hansitz, *Germania Sacra*, ii. p. 712 : “ Numerus Lutheri sectatorum tantus ut ex inquilinis Græcensibus pæne cunctis invenirentur avitæ fidei cultores tres non amplius.” The words “ pæne cunctis ” render the matter again doubtful.

at Grätz had been reinforced by new and eminent professors. The nobility had elected a committee from their own body, with the view of resisting every attempt prejudicial to protestantism.

Nevertheless, Ferdinand, impelled by mixed motives, political and religious, immediately determined to proceed in the accomplishment of the counter-reformation. He declared that he would be master in his own country, as well as the elector of Saxony or the Elector Palatine. When the dangers which might arise from an inroad of the Turks during civil discord were suggested to him, he replied, “that he could not reckon upon God’s assistance till the conversion of the country was effected.” In the year 1597, Ferdinand proceeded by way of Loreto to Rome, to throw himself at the feet of pope Clement VIII. Having made a vow to re-establish the catholic religion in his hereditary dominions, even at the peril of his life,—a resolution in which the pope confirmed him,—he returned, and began the work of proselytism. In September, 1598, he issued a decree commanding that all lutheran preachers should leave Grätz within a fortnight\*.

Grätz was the central point of the protestant doctrine and interest. Nothing was left untried to shake the determination of the archduke,—neither entreaties, nor warnings, nor even threats; but this young prince was, to use the expression of an historian of Carniola, “as firm as marble†.”

\* Khevenhiller, *Annales Ferdinandeï*, iv. 1718.

† Valvassor, *Ehre des Herzogthums Krain*, part ii. book 7. p. 464, beyond all doubt the most important account of this oc-

A similar edict was promulgated in Carniola in October, and in Carinthia in December.

The states now manifested extreme discontent in their several provincial meetings,—the general assembly having been prohibited by Ferdinand. They refused to grant subsidies, and the soldiers on the frontiers already began to show a spirit of insubordination. But the archduke declared he would rather lose all that he possessed by the grace of God, than recede one step. The danger to be apprehended from the Turks, who, during these proceedings, had already taken Canischa and daily advanced in a more threatening attitude, at length compelled the states to grant supplies without having obtained any concessions.

Accordingly there was now nothing to restrain the archduke. In October, 1599, the protestant church in Grätz was shut up, and the lutheran service forbidden under pain of corporal punishment or death. There was a commission appointed which visited every part of the country with an armed force. Styria was first reformed, then Carinthia, and lastly Carniola. From place to place resounded the cry of, “The reformation is coming!” The churches were torn down, the preachers banished or thrown into prison, and the inhabitants compelled either to embrace the catholic faith or to quit the country. Many were still found, for example fifty burghers in the small town of St. Veit,

currence : “Such a petition, interspersed with warning, found but a block of marble, which their pens were not skilled to penetrate or soften.”

who preferred exile to apostasy\*. The exiles were compelled to pay the tax of the tenth penny, which for them was a heavy burthen.

Such were the cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion. Such were the means by which Ferdinand earned the satisfaction of knowing, that in the year 1603 there were above forty thousand catholic communicants more than before.

This immediately produced an extensive effect on all the Austrian provinces.

At first the emperor Rudolf had dissuaded his young cousin from the schemes he contemplated; but their success induced him to imitate them. We find a reformation commission actively at work from 1599 to 1601 in upper, and from 1602 to 1603 in lower Austria†. The preachers and schoolmasters in Linz and Steier, who had grown grey in the lutheran service, were compelled to leave the country. Their lamentations were bitter. “Now,” exclaims the rector of Steier, “when bowed down by age, I am driven out to exile and want‡.” One of those who still remained behind writes, “destruction threatens us daily; our enemies lie in wait for us, and mock us, and thirst after our blood§.”

The protestants of Bohemia thought themselves more effectually protected by the ancient privileges of the Utraquists, and those of Hungary by the

\* Herrmann, St. Veit; in the *Karinthian Chronicle*, v. 3. p. 163.

† Raupach, *Evangel. Oestreich*, i. 215.

‡ “*Jam senio squalens trudo in exilium.*” Valentine Pruenhueber, *Annales Styrenses*, p. 326.

§ Hofmarius ad Lyserum, Raupach, iv. 151.



independence and power of the states. But Rudolf now seemed little disposed to respect either the one or the other. He had been persuaded that the old Utraquists had ceased to exist, and that the Lutherans had no legal claim to the privileges granted to that sect. In the year 1602, he published an edict, commanding the churches of the Moravian brethren immediately to be closed, and forbidding their meetings\*. All the other sects felt that the same fate awaited them; nor were they long left in doubt as to what they had to expect. Open force was already resorted to in Hungary. Basta and Belgiojoso, who commanded the imperial troops in that country, took possession of the churches of Caschau and Clausenburg; with their assistance the archbishop of Colocsa endeavoured to bring back to catholicism the thirteen towns of Zips. In answer to the complaints of the Hungarians, the emperor published a resolution in these terms: "His majesty, who sincerely believes in the holy roman faith, wishes to propagate it in all his kingdoms, and especially in Hungary; he therefore hereby confirms and ratifies all the decrees which have been issued in favour of that faith, since the times of Saint Stephen, the apostle of Hungary†."

For in spite of his advanced age and his cautious temper, the emperor had thrown aside his modera-

\* Schmidt, *Neuere Geschichte der Deutschen*, iii. 260. An extract from the appendices attached to the *Apology for the Bohemians*, published in 1618, which are frequently wanting in the later editions.

† Art. XXII., anno 1604. In Ribiny, *Memorabilia Augustanæ Confessionis*, i. p. 321.

tion. The catholic princes, in a body, followed the same policy ; as far as their power extended the stream of catholicism overspread the land, driven onwards by the combined operation of argument and of force ; nor did the constitution of the empire afford any means of arresting its course. On the contrary the efforts of catholicism were so strong and so successful, that they began at this crisis to interfere with the affairs of the empire, and to endanger the still existing rights of the protestant part of its subjects\*.

Already, aided by the influence of the papal nuncio, particularly of cardinal Madruzzi, who first drew attention to this point, changes were made in the constitution of the courts of the empire, which afforded both opportunity and means for attacks on the protestants.

The Kammergericht had also assumed, towards the commencement of the seventeenth century, a more catholic complexion, and had given judgements in conformity with the catholic interpretation of the terms of the peace of Augsburg. Those who thought themselves aggrieved, on the other hand, had adopted the legal remedy of applying for a revision of judgement ; but even these revisions had come to a stand, in consequence of the cessa-

\* *Relatione del Nuntio Ferrero, 1606*, contains a summary of the consequent events : “ Da alcuni anni in qua si è convertito alla nostra santa religione una grandissima quantità d’anime, restorate le chiese, rivate molte religioni di regolari alli loro antichi monasteri, restituite in bona parte le cerimonie ecclesiastiche, moderata alquanto la licenza degli ecclesiastici, e domesticato il nome del pontefice Romano riconosciuto per capo della chiesa universale.”

tion of the visitations ; business accumulated, and things remained as they were\*.

It was under these circumstances that the Aulic Council was established. This at any rate appeared to give some promise of an end to litigation ; since the weaker party could not have recourse to a legal process which could never be executed. But the aulic council was not only more decidedly catholic than the Kammergericht, it was absolutely dependent upon the court. "The aulic council," says the Florentine minister Alidosi, "gives no final judgements, without previously communicating them to the emperor and the privy council, who seldom return them without some alterations†."

\* Missive and Memorial from the Reichskammergericht to the Imperial Diet of 1603, from the collection of the Acts of the Diet at Frankfort on the Main, of which I was kindly permitted to make a previous examination. The Kammergericht affirms it to be "land und reichskündig in wass grosser und merklicher Anzall seit Ao. 86 die Revisionen deren von gedachtem Kammergericht ergangenen und aussgesprochenen Urthell sich gehäuft, dergestalt dass derselben nunmehr in die Einhundert allbereit beim kaiserlichen Collegio denunciirt und deren vielleicht täglich mehr zu gewarten."—"Known to the country and empire, to how much greater and more remarkable a number the revisions of the sentences passed and declared by the before-mentioned Kammergericht had accumulated since the year 86 ; to such a degree, that at the present moment notice was given of a hundred of the same at the Imperial College, and more were probably to be expected every day."

† Relatione del S<sup>r</sup> Rod. Alidosi, 1607—1609 : "È vero che il consiglio aulico a questo di meno che tutte le definitioni che anno virtù di definitiva non le pronuntia se prima non dia parte a S. M<sup>ta</sup>, o in suo luogo al consiglio di stato, il quale alle volte o augmenta o toglie o modera l'opinione di questo consiglio, e così fatto si rimanda a detto consiglio tal deliberatione e così si publica."

But indeed what effective institutions were there in the empire except the judicial ones? It was to them that the unity of the German people as a nation was attached. And these too were now under the influence of catholic opinions, and of court expediency. Complaints had already been heard of partial judgements and arbitrary executions, when the danger which threatened the country from this source came prominently to view in the affair of Donauwerth.

It happened that a catholic abbot in a protestant town, who wished to celebrate his processions with greater publicity and solemnity than usual\*, was interrupted and insulted by the mob; this incident afforded a sufficient pretext for the aulic council to inflict on the whole city tedious and vexatious processes, mandates, citations and commissions, and finally to place it under the ban of the empire, which a neighbouring prince of the most rigid

\* It is said in the report "on the Execution at Donawerth," which is to be found amongst the Acts of the Diet of the 4th of February, 1608, and with which the other accounts and notices agree, that the abbot had only "allein so viel herbracht dass er mit niedergelegten und zusammengewickelten Fahnen ohne Gesang und Klang und zwar allein durch ein sonderes Gässlein beim Kloster hinab bis ausser der Stadt und ihrem Bezirk gangen, und die Fahnen nit eher aufrichten und fliegen oder singen und klingen lassen, er sey denn ausser deren von Donawerth Grund."—"The right to issue from the city and its domain, with banners furled and lowered, without song or music, and moreover by passing through a particular alley near the monastery; neither was he to allow his banners to be raised and unfurled, nor song or music to be heard, till he was out of Donawerth ground." These restrictions he had now broken through.

catholic opinions, Maximilian of Bavaria, was commissioned to carry into effect. He was not satisfied with taking immediate possession of Donauwerth, but invited the jesuits thither, prohibited protestant worship, and took the usual measures for effecting a counter-reformation.

Maximilian himself regarded this incident as an affair of general interest. He wrote to the pope that it might be received as a test of the general decline of heresy.

But he deceived himself, when he imagined that the protestants would suffer patiently. They clearly saw what they had to expect if things were allowed to go on in that course.

The jesuits had already had the audacity to deny the validity of the treaty of Augsburg; they affirmed that its ratification could not be valid without the consent of the pope; at all events it could have been binding only down to the time of the council of Trent, and was to be considered as a kind of interim.

Even those who recognised the validity of this treaty, held, that at least all the property confiscated by the protestants since its ratification, ought to be restored; they paid no attention to the construction put upon it by the protestants. What then was to be expected when these views were adopted by the highest courts of judicature, when judgements had actually been given, and carried into execution in accordance with them?

At the meeting of the diet at Ratisbon in the year 1608, the protestants would proceed to no con-

ference, until the validity of the treaty of Augsburg should be absolutely recognised and confirmed\*. Even Saxony, which had hitherto always inclined to the emperor's side, now required the abolition of the suits instituted by the aulic council, in so far as they were contrary to precedent ; reforms in the administration of the law ; and not only the renewal of the religious peace, as concluded at the diet of Augsburg in the year 1555, but also a pragmatic sanction prohibiting the jesuits from writing against it.

On the other side, however, the catholics were zealous and united ; the bishop of Ratisbon had previously issued a circular, in which he exhorted his brethren in the faith to enjoin upon their delegates an unanimous defence of the catholic religion ; “ to stand together firm and fast as a wall ;” by no means to temporize ; there was nothing now to fear, since they had inflexible and zealous defenders in the most august and illustri-

\* *Protocollum im Correspondenzrath*, dated 5th of April 1608, to be found in the acts of the diet : “ Die Hauptconsultation jetziger Reichsversammlung sey bisher darumben eingestellt verblieben dass die Stend evangelischer Religion den Religionsfriden zu confirmiren begert und der papistische Theil die Clausulam dem Abschied zu inseriren haben wollen : dass alle Güter die sinthero a. 55 von den Evangelischen Stenden eingezogen worden restituirt werden sollen.”—“ The chief consultation of the present assembly of the states of the empire had remained at a standstill, because the states professing the evangelical religion had desired to confirm the peace of Augsburg, while the catholic party had wanted to insert in the edict, the clause, that all possessions which had fallen into the hands of the evangelical states from the year 55, should be restored.”

ous princely houses. Though the catholics showed a disposition to confirm the treaty of Augsburg, it was only under condition that a clause should be inserted, "that whatever contravened that treaty should be abolished, and things restored to the *status quo*;" a clause which contained precisely what the protestants feared, and wished to avoid.

While such disunion existed on important questions, there was not the smallest hope that on any single point an unanimous determination could be formed; or that the supplies which the emperor wished for and wanted for the Turkish war, would be voted.

It appears as if this had made some impression on the emperor; as if the court had really determined to comply in good faith with the requests of the protestants. This at least is the impression made by a very remarkable report which the papal envoy drew up of the proceedings of this diet.

The emperor was not present, being represented by the archduke Ferdinand. The nuncio was also absent from Ratisbon, and had sent thither, in his name, an Augustine friar, one Fra Felice Milensio, the vicar-general of his order, who laboured with uncommon zeal to maintain intact the interests of catholicism. .

This same Fra Milensio, the author of the report in question, asserts that the emperor had actually determined on issuing an edict conformable to the wishes of the protestants. He traces this to the immediate influence of Satan; and adds, that the document was doubtless concocted by the privy

chamberlains of the emperor, one of whom was a jew, the other a heretic\*.

I give in his own words this further account of the transaction : “ Upon the report of the intended publication of this edict, which was communicated to me and some others, I went to the archduke, and asked if such a decree had arrived : the archduke replied it had. ‘ And is it your imperial highness’s intention to publish it ? ’ The archduke answered, ‘ Such are the commands of the emperor’s privy council : you, reverend father, must see yourself in what situation we are placed. ’ Thereupon I answered†, ‘ Your imperial highness will not belie

\* Ragguaglio della Dieta imperiale fatta in Ratisbona 1608, nella quale in luogo dell’ ecc<sup>mo</sup> e rev<sup>mo</sup> Mons<sup>r</sup> Antonio Gaetano arcivescovo di Capua, nuntio apostolico, rimasto in Praga appresso la M<sup>ta</sup> Cesarea, fu residente il padre Felice Milensio maestro Agostiniano vicario generale sopra le provincie aquilonari. “ E certo fu machinato dal demonio e promosso da suoi ministri, di quali erano i due camerieri intimi di Ridolfo, heretico l’ uno, Hebreo l’ altro, e quei del consiglio ch’ eran Hussiti o peggiori.”

† “ Sovenga le, Ser<sup>ma</sup> Altezza, di quella cattolica pietà con la quale ella da che nacque fu allevata e per la quale pochi anni a dietro non temendo pericolo alcuno, anzi a rischio di perdere i suoi stati, ne bandì tutti gli heretici con ordine che fra pochi mesi o si dichiarassero cattolici o venduti gli stabili sgombrassero via dal paese : sovengale che nella tavola dipinta della chiesa dei padri Capuccini in Gratz ella sta effigiata con la lancia impugnata come un altro Michele e con Luthero sotto i piedi in atto di passarli la gola : et hora essendo ella qui in persona di Cesare, non devo credere che sia per soffrire se perdano i beni dotali della chiesa il patrimonio di Christo, e molto meno che ia diabolica setta di Luthero sia con questa moderna concessione confermata e per peggio quella ancor di Calvinò già incorporata, la quale non ricevè mai tolleranza alcuna imperiale. Questo e più dissi io et ascoltò il piissimo principe. . . . Priegola, dissi, a suspender questa materia fino alla risposta del sommo ponte-



the piety in which you have been educated; the piety with which you have dared, in the face of so many imminent dangers, to banish all heretics without exception from your dominions. I cannot believe that your highness will by this new concession, sanction the plunder of the church, or the establishment of the devilish sect of Luther, or the still more detestable one of Calvin, which have never yet enjoyed legal and public toleration in the empire.' The pious prince listened to me. 'But what is to be done?' said he. I answered, 'I entreat your highness to lay the matter before the pope, and to take no step until we have his reply.' This the archduke did, having more regard to the commands of God, than to the decrees of men."

If this is all true, we see what an important part this obscure augustine friar plays in German history. At the decisive moment, he prevented the publication of concessions which would probably have satisfied the protestants. Instead of these, Ferdinand published an edict of interposition which virtually included the clause objected to by the protestants. At a meeting of the 5th of April 1608, the protestants were unanimous in their determination not to receive the edict, nor to give way\*. As the other party was equally obstinate, and

*ficc : e così fece differendo i decreti degli huomini per non offendere i decreti di Dio."*

\* Vote of the Palatinate, in the Correspondenzrath: "Dass die Confirmation des Religionsfriedens keineswegs einzugehn wie die Interpositionsschrift mit sich bringe: dann selbige den evangelischen Stenden undienlich, weilen der Abschied anno 66 eben die Clausulam habe so jetzt disputirt werde."—"That the confirmation of the peace of Augsburg, as stated in the letter of

as nothing was to be obtained from the emperor or his representative calculated to appease their fears, they resorted to extreme measures, and quitted the diet. For the first time the diet separated without any formal dissolution ; agreement was out of the question. It was a moment in which the unity of the empire was virtually dissolved.

Matters could not possibly remain in this state. Each party was too weak to maintain single-handed the position it had assumed ; the exigency of the moment drove the protestants to form an union which they had long intended, advised, and prepared. Immediately after the diet there was a meeting at Ahausen between two palatine princes,—the elector Frederick and the count palatine of Neuburg ; two Brandenburg princes,—the margraves Joachim and Christian Ernest ; the duke of Würtemberg and the margrave of Baden, who concluded a treaty known under the name of the Union. They pledged themselves to assist each other in every way, even with arms ; especially in relation to the grievances brought forward at the late diet. They immediately put themselves in a state of military organization, and every member engaged to try to induce his neighbours to join the Union. Their object was, to procure for themselves that security which, in the present state of things, the imperial government failed to afford them.

interposition, can by no means be assented to : for the same is of no service to the evangelical states, since the decree of the year 66, contains the very clause which is now in dispute." It was not contained in the decrees of 1557 and 1559. The letter of interposition referred merely to 1566, and was rejected for the reason that it treated the emperor as judge in matters of religion.

This was an innovation pregnant with the most extensive consequences. The more so from an event of a corresponding nature which occurred in the hereditary dominions of the emperor.

The emperor had quarrelled with his brother Matthias in various grounds. The estates of Austria, deprived both of civil and religious freedom, saw in these differences an opportunity of shaking off their yoke, and threw their weight into the scale of the archduke.

In the year 1606, the archduke, with their concurrence, concluded a peace with the Hungarians, without even consulting the emperor. The estates alleged as an excuse, that the emperor neglected public business, and that the state of affairs had compelled them to act. But as Rudolf refused to recognise this peace, they raised the standard of rebellion, in virtue of the convention they had formed\*. In the first place the Hungarian and Austrian estates concluded a mutual alliance, offensive and defensive; they then, aided by the influence of one of the Lichtenstein family, induced the Moravians to join them; and all pledged themselves to peril property and life for the archduke. On the very day on which the diet of Ratisbon broke up, May 1608, they took the field against

\* The act of stipulation contained this clause: "Quodsi propter vel contra tractationem Viennensem et Turricam. . . . hostis aut, turbator aliquis ingrueret, tum serenissimum archiducem et omnes status et ordines regni Hungariæ et archiducatus superioris et inferioris Austriæ mutuis auxiliis sibi et suppetiis non defuturos." Reva ap. Schwandtner, Script. rerum Ung. ii. Kurz, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landes Oestreich ob der Ens, vol. iv. p. 21.

the emperor under the command of a leader of their own choice. Rudolf could make no resistance, and was obliged to cede to his brother, Hungary, Austria, and Moravia.

Matthias was of course compelled to repay by concessions the services which the estates had rendered him. For forty-eight years the emperors had evaded the appointment of a palatine in Hungary: a protestant was now advanced to that dignity. Religious toleration was secured in the most solemn manner, not only to the magnates, but also to the cities; to all classes in short, even to the soldiers serving on the frontiers\*; nor would the Austrians do homage till the *exercitium religionis* was secured to their castles and villages, as well as to the private houses of the towns.

What the Austrians and Hungarians had obtained by offensive, the Bohemians gained by defensive measures. Rudolf was forced from the first to consent to make large concessions, in order to oppose any effectual resistance to his brother. After Hungary and Austria had, with the aid of Matthias, obtained so considerable a share of freedom, Rudolf could not refuse the demand of the Bohemians, whatever the papal nuncio or the Spanish minister might say to the contrary. He granted them the imperial letter, which not only renewed the former concessions made by Maximilian II., but permitted them to establish certain authorities for their special protection.

The posture of affairs in the German, and particularly the hereditary, dominions of the emperor,

\* This article is to be found in Ribiny, i. 358.



extraordinary powers. Shortly after, the three electoral princes of the Rhine joined them, retaining, however, a certain degree of independence. The archduke Ferdinand wished to be admitted a member of this confederation ; Spain declared its approval, and the pope promised to neglect nothing which could promote its interests. It is unquestionable that the pope, chiefly through Spanish influence, allowed himself to be gradually deeper implicated in the projects of this league\*.

Thus were the two hostile parties arrayed against each other ; both armed, both in constant fear of being surprised and attacked, and neither able to bring affairs to any grand decisive issue.

The necessary consequence was, that it was henceforward impossible to overcome any difficulty, or to despatch any business of general importance in Germany.

In the year 1611, a king of the Romans should have been elected. The electors met together in vain. They could come to no agreement.

In the year 1612, even after the death of Rudolf, a long time passed in unavailing debates. The three temporal electors demanded, in the capitulation of election, the establishment of an aulic council, composed of an equal number of protestant and catholic members, which the three spiritual princes opposed. No election could have taken place, had not Saxony, which on all occasions showed great

\* The documents connected with this affair are not known : till more detailed information can be found, the statement of the Venetian ambassador Mocenigo may satisfy us.

remained in the house of Austria ever in the Catholic party.

But what could not be settled in the second council was terminated with the more violence by the union of princes at the diet of Nuremberg. There it was a powerful support to the Catholics. No further deliberation was left on the subject. The Protestants did not choose any longer to support themselves in the cause of the majority.

In Austria and Germany some of the wavering dignitaries were won by the weak government of the emperor. Prince among measures that it might well be said for the restoration of religion through the influence of the vicar & prince of the house of Lorraine. Nevertheless I hesitated for a time as I did not think would join the majority, unless the rest left were full Protestants. But now for the restoration of the unity of the church. One of the principal pretensions in the Catholic church, Catholicism, and now this the parties divided. In 1546, as they returned to common worship, they proceeded to acts of violence. The one with the assistance of Spain the other with that of the Low Countries, seized whatever they could lay hands on, and each very soon returned, after its fashion, the country which had fallen to its share.

Attempts indeed were made at a reconciliation, and an electoral diet was proposed; but the elector palatine would not listen to this project, as he had no confidence in his colleague of Saxony. Another proposal was for a general diet of composition;

but the catholic states had innumerable motives for rejecting this. Others turned their eyes towards the emperor, and advised him to assert his dignity by the demonstration of a large armed force. But what could be expected of Matthias? who by the very origin of his power belonged to both parties, and who now, loaded as he was with chains of his own forging, could display no independence or energy. The pope complained loudly of him ; he declared him unfit to occupy so august a station in such times ; he remonstrated with him in the strongest language, and only wondered that the emperor bore it as he did. At a later period however, the catholics were not so dissatisfied with him, and even the bigots declared that he had been of greater use to their church than might have been believed. But in the affairs of the empire he was utterly powerless. In the year 1617, he made an attempt to dissolve both the hostile confederacies, but with so little success, that the Union was immediately after renewed, and the League re-established on a new and firmer basis.

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§ 6. NUNTIATURA IN SWITZERLAND.

That equal balance of parties which had long existed in Switzerland, now manifested itself as distinctly as in former times, though more peacefully.

The independence of each of the confederate cantons of Switzerland had long been declared ;



nor was it lawful so much as to discuss the affairs of religion at their diets.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the catholic party no longer entertained the slightest hope of crushing the protestants, who were not only more powerful and wealthy than themselves, but had also in their ranks men of greater ability and experience in business\*.

It is clear that the nuncios who had established their residence in Lucerne, did not deceive themselves on this head; since it is from them that we derive this representation of the state of things. Nevertheless, spite of the limits thus imposed on their sphere of activity, the situation they held among the catholics was one of great consideration.

Their chief care was, to keep the bishops to the exercise of their duties†. The bishops of German

\* *Informatione mandata dal S<sup>r</sup> Card<sup>l</sup> d' Aquino a Mons<sup>r</sup> Feliciano Vescovo di Foligno per il paese de' Suizzeri e Grisoni, (Informationi Politt. ix.), adds: " Li cantoni cattolici sino a questi tempi sono tenuti più bellicosì che i cantoni heretici, ancora che quelli siano più potenti di genti al doppio e di denari: ma hoggi li cattolici si mostrano tanto affettionati e mutati da quelli antichi Suizzeri che se non fosse particolare gratia del Signore, humanamente parlando, poco o veruno avvantaggio haverebbero questi sopra gli avversarii heretici, e non sarebbe sicuro senza ajuto straniero il venir a rottura con essi, oltre che li medesimi protestanti hanno persone più dotte, pratiche, giudiciosi e potenti in ogni affare."*

† *Relatione della nuntiatura de' Suizzeri: " L'esperienza mi ha mostrato che per far frutto nella nuntiatura non è bene che i nuntii si ingerischino nelle cose che possono fare i vescovi e che spettano a gli ordinarii, se non in sussidio e con vera necessità: perchè mettendosi mano ad ogni cosa indifferentemente, non solo*

race were prone to consider themselves princes; whereas the nuncios incessantly represented to them, that they were invested with exalted temporal rank only for the sake of their spiritual calling, the high responsibilities of which they constantly pressed upon them. We find, indeed, that great zeal and activity at that time animated the Swiss church, Visitations were made, synods appointed, convents reformed, and seminaries established. The nuncios endeavoured to maintain a good understanding between the spiritual and the temporal authorities, and their gentleness and persuasiveness ensured them considerable success. They had sufficient influence to prevent the importation of protestant writings, though they were obliged to allow the people to retain their bibles and German prayer-books. Jesuits and capuchins laboured with great effect. Confraternities of the Blessed Virgin were founded, including old and young; the church and the confessional were punctually attended; pilgrimages to miraculous images were again generally performed; and it even became necessary to mitigate the severities which some devout persons imposed on themselves\*. The nuncios could not find words to

essi vescovi si sdegnano, ma si oppongono spesse volte e rendono vana ogni fatica del ministro apostolico, oltre che è contro la mente di monsignore e delli canonici che si metta mano nella messe aliena mandandoli i nuntii per ajutare e non per distruggere l'autorità degli ordinarii."

\* An example is given in the *Literæ annuæ societatis Jesu*, 1596, p. 187. "Modus tamen rigido illi jejunió est a confessario adhibitus."

convey their sense of the value of the services rendered by the capuchins, especially the Italians of that order.

These efforts naturally led to conversions. The nuncios received, supported and recommended the converts, and endeavoured, from the contributions of the faithful, to establish funds, under the control of the prelates, for the maintenance of the proselytes. Sometimes they succeeded in regaining jurisdictions given up for lost, and in which they then hastened to re-establish catholic worship. The bishop of Basle and the abbot of St. Gall showed peculiar zeal in this matter.

All these labours of the nuncios were greatly promoted by the formation of a Spanish party in catholic Switzerland; the adherents of Spain, for example the Lusi in Unterwalden, the Amli in Lucerne, the Bühler in Schwyz, &c. were all among the most devoted servants of the Roman see. The nuncios did not fail to encourage these sentiments by every means in their power. They treated those who held them with all possible respect and courtesy; listened with patience to the longest and most tiresome speeches; were not sparing of titles, and professed great admiration of the ancient deeds of the Swiss people, and of the wisdom of their republican institutions. They found it absolutely indispensable to keep together their friends by a regular succession of feasts, while they repaid every invitation, every civility to themselves, with a present. Presents were here found to have peculiar efficacy: a man

who was advanced to the dignity of a knight of the Golden Spur, and received, together with the honour, a chain or a medal, felt himself bound to them for ever. They had only to take care not to promise what they were not certain to be able to perform ; if they could do more than they promised, the favour was esteemed the more highly. Their private life was expected to be regular and decorous, so as to give no handle to censure.

Thus it happened that the catholic interests, even in Switzerland, were generally sure of a good reception, and of a quiet progress.

There was only one province, in which the hostility between protestants and catholics, concurring, as it there did, with unsettled political relations, could cause danger and contention.

The government of the Grisons was essentially protestant ; but among their dependencies, the Italian, and especially the Valtelline, were inflexibly catholic.

Hence arose continual provocations. The government would not tolerate any foreign priests in the valley, and had even forbidden their subjects to frequent foreign jesuits' schools ; nor would it permit the bishop of Como, to whose diocese the Valtelline belonged, to perform his official duties there. On the other hand, the inhabitants saw with the greatest disgust, protestants lords and masters in their country, and consequently cherished a secret attachment to their neighbours of Italy—to the orthodox Milan, while the Collegium

Helveticum, where only six places were reserved for the Valtelline, constantly sent forth young divines who inflamed their zeal\*.

These religious dissensions were attended with danger, since France, Spain, and Venice were eagerly vying with each other to establish a party in the Grisons ; these parties frequently broke out into open violence, and drove each other from the field. In the year 1607, the Spanish faction, and soon afterwards the Venetian, took possession of Coire. The former broke up all the existing alliances, the latter restored them. The Spanish party had catholic, the Venetian, protestant sympathies, and these gave the tone to the whole politics of the country. It was now of the greatest importance to ascertain for which side France would declare herself. The French had pensioners all over Switzerland, not only in the catholic but in the protestant cantons, and possessed a long-established influence in the Grisons. About the year 1612, they declared for the catholic interest ; the nuncio succeeded in winning over their friends to the side of Rome, and the Venetian alliance was therefore formally dissolved.

This party warfare merited little attention for its own sake ; but acquired great importance from the fact, that the opening or closing the passes in the

\* *Rel<sup>ne</sup> della nuntiatura* : “ Il collegio Elvetico di Milano è di gran giovamento, et è la salute in particolare della Val Telina, che quanti preti ha, sono soggetti di detto collegio, e quasi tutti dottorati in theologia.”

Grisons to the one or the other of the great powers, depended upon it. We shall see that the struggles of this small state had a considerable effect in determining the general relations of politics and religion throughout Europe.

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§ 7. REGENERATION OF CATHOLICISM IN FRANCE.

At this crisis the question of the greatest interest to the world was, the position and character which France would assume with respect to religion.

One glance suffices to show that the protestants were still extremely powerful.

Henry IV. had proclaimed the edict of Nantes, by which, not only the possession of the churches they then held was guaranteed to them, but also a share in the institutions for public education, and committees composed of an equal number of protestants and catholics in the parliaments; fortified places were ceded to them in great number; and above all things, a degree of independence was granted them which seems hardly compatible with the idea of a State. About the year 1600, there were seven hundred and sixty parish churches belonging to the protestants of France, all in good order: four thousand of the nobility belonged to that confession, and it was calculated that they could bring into the field without difficulty twenty-five thousand men, and that they possessed about two hundred fortified towns:—a power able to com-

mand respect, and not to be assailed with impunity\*.

Next to them however, and in direct opposition, arose a second power,—the corporation of the catholic clergy of France.

The vast possessions of the French clergy gave them a certain independence as a body, which became the more conspicuous when they entered into an engagement to pay off a part of the public debt†. For their contribution was not so forced but that their engagement to pay it was from time to time renewed with the forms of a voluntary act.

Under Henry IV., the meetings which were held for this purpose assumed a more regular form. They were to be held every tenth year ; always in May, when the days are long and allow time for much business ; never at Paris, for fear of the interruptions and dissipations of a capital. Every

\* Badoer, *Relatione di Francia*, 1605.

† In the *Mémoires du clergé de France*, tom. ix.—*Recueil des contrats passés par le clergé avec les rois*—are to be found the documents relating to this affair, from the year 1561 downwards. At the convention of Poisy in this year, for instance, the clergy undertook not only to pay the interest of the debts which had been incurred by the state, but to discharge them. The discharge did not take place : the promise to pay the interest however was adhered to. The debts were chiefly those which had been contracted to the Hotel de Ville of Paris, and the city received the interest ; a fixed annual rent was paid to it by the clergy. It is easy to see, why Paris, even if its citizens had not been such good catholics as they were, would never have ventured to give any countenance to the ruin of the clergy, nor consented to the destruction of the ecclesiastical possessions, which were thus mortgaged to them.

two years, smaller meetings were to be held for the purpose of auditing the accounts.

It was not to be expected that these assemblies, particularly the larger ones, would be content with the mere performance of their financial duties. The fulfilment of these soon gave them courage to aim at larger objects. In the years 1595 and 1596, they determined to reorganize the provincial councils ; to oppose the encroachments made by the temporal authorities upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to permit no simony: to these resolutions, the king, after some slight hesitation, gave his sanction\*. It was customary for the clergy to make general representations in all matters relating to churches and church discipline ; these the king could not possibly refuse to receive, and they invariably led to new concessions. At their next meeting, the clergy set on foot an inquiry whether the changes they had directed had been carried into execution.

Henry's situation was now most extraordinary ; placed between two corporations, each of which had a certain independence, each holding its meetings at stated times, and each assailing him with opposite representations, neither of which it was safe for him to resist.

His general intention was, doubtless, to maintain the balance between them, and not to suffer them to break out into fresh discord ; but if we inquire

\* *Rélation des principales choses qui ont esté résolues dans l'assemblée générale du clergé tenue à Paris ès années 1595 et 1596, envoyée à toutes les diocèses. Mémoires du clergé, tom. viii. p. 6.*



to which of the two parties he was most inclined, and gave in fact the greatest assistance, we shall find that, notwithstanding his own protestant extraction, it was undoubtedly the catholic.

Henry was as little swayed by gratitude as by revenge ; he was more solicitous to acquire new friends, than to reward or to gratify the old.

Had not the huguenots been obliged to extort from him even the edict of Nantes ? He granted it only at a moment when he was hard pressed by the Spaniards, and when the protestants had themselves assumed a very threatening and warlike attitude\*. They used their freedom in the same spirit in which they had won it ; they constituted a republic over which the king had but little influence ; and from time to time they spoke as if they meant to choose some foreign protector.

The catholic clergy, on the contrary, attached themselves to the king ; instead of requiring pecuniary assistance, they afforded it ; the degree of independence they enjoyed could not be dangerous, since the king held the nomination to the vacant sees in his own hands. In so far as the position of the huguenots involved, as it manifestly did, a limitation of the royal power, it is clear that the extension of that power was inseparably connected with the progress of catholicism†.

\* This appears incontestably from the narrative of Benoist, *Histoire de l'édit. de Nantes*, i. 185.

† Niccolò Contarini : “ Il re se ben andava temporeggiando con le parti e li suoi ministri e consiglieri fussero dell' una e l'altra religione, pur sempre più si mostrava alienarsi dagli Ugonoti e desiderarli minori : la ragione principal era perchè tenendo essi

As early as the year 1598, the king declared to the clergy that it was his intention to render the catholic church as flourishing as it had been in former ages ; all he asked was patience and confidence ; Paris was not built in a day\*.

From that time the manner of exercising the rights conferred by the concordat was totally changed ; benefices were no longer bestowed upon women and children. The king looked most carefully to the learning, the opinions, and the conduct of those upon whom he conferred church livings.

“ In all internal matters,” says a Venetian, “ he shows himself personally devoted to the Roman catholic religion, and unfavourable to the opposite party.”

Actuated by these sentiments, he recalled the jesuits ; he thought that their zeal would materially tend to the restoration of catholicism, and consequently to the extension of the royal power, such as he now contemplated and desired it†.

Yet all this would have availed but little, had not the internal regeneration of the catholic church of France, which had already commenced, just now

per li editti di pace molte piazze nelle loro mani, delle quali ben trenta erano di molto momento, senza di queste li pareva non essere assolutamente re del suo regno.”

\* Mémoires du clergé, tom. xiv. p. 259.

† Contarini : “ Per abbassamento del quale (del partito degli Ugonoti) s’imaginò di poter dar gran colpo col richiamar li Gesuiti, pensando anco in questa maniera di toglier la radice a molte congiure.” The king had said, in answer to the demands of the parliaments, that if they would ensure his personal safety, the exile of the jesuits should be perpetual.

advanced with rapid strides. Within the first twenty years of that century, it assumed a new form. This change, especially as it regards the renovation of convent discipline, in which it appears under its most striking aspect, we shall now briefly consider.

The ancient orders,—the dominicans, franciscans, and benedictines,—were most zealously reformed. The religious communities of women emulated their zeal and asceticism. The feillantines imposed on themselves such austere penances that fourteen are said to have died of them in one week, and the pope himself was obliged to exhort them to moderate the severity of their discipline\*. Community of goods, silence, and night vigils were re-introduced at Portroyal; the mystery of the Eucharist was adored day and night without intermission†. The nuns of Calvary observed the rule of Saint Benedict in all its rigour; they offered up incessant prayer at the foot of the cross, which they regarded as a sort of expiatory penance for the outrages offered by protestants to the tree of life‡.

At that time Saint Theresa had reformed the order of the carmelites in Spain, but in a somewhat different spirit. She also prescribed the most rigid seclusion; restricting the visits of the nearest

\* Helyot, *Histoire des ordres monastiques*, v. p. 412.

† Felibien, *Histoire de Paris*, ii. 1339, a work throughout of great importance as regards the history of this restoration, and which, in many instances, takes its accounts from original documents.

‡ *La vie du véritable père Josef*, 1705, p. 53–73.

kindred at the grate, and subjecting even the confessors to vigilant inspection. But Saint Theresa did not regard austerity as an end; she employed it only as a means of elevating the soul to an immediate contemplation of the Deity, and to some similitude with the divine spirit.

But experience and reflection soon taught her that no retirement from the world, no privation, no self-chastisement, would suffice to maintain the mind in the requisite state of abstraction from earthly objects without other means: these means she found in labour;—the business of the household, the works which become the hands of woman, the salt which preserves the soul of woman from corruption, the guardian which shuts the door against the intrusion of all wandering thoughts. Yet this labour was not to be costly, nor over delicate, nor to be completed within a fixed time; it was not to absorb the attention. Her object was to preserve the serenity of a soul conscious of its existence in God; a soul, as she says, “that ever lives as if standing before the face of Almighty God; that knows no sorrow nor pain but that of not enjoying His presence.” She wished to produce what she calls the prayer of love, “in which the soul forgets herself, and drinks in the voice of her Divine Master\*.” The enthusiasm of this remarkable

\* Diego de Yepes, *Vita della gloriosa vergine S. Teresa di Giesu, fondatrice de' Carmelitani scalzi*, Roma, 1623, p. 303. *Constituzioni principali*, § 3, p. 208. The *Exclamaciones o meditaciones* di S. Teresa con algunos otros tratadillos, Brusselas, 1682, contain proofs of an enthusiasm almost too exalted for our taste.

woman was at all events pure, grand, and unaffected, and made the strongest impression on the whole catholic world. The persuasion soon spread to France, that something more than mere penances was necessary. Pierre Berulle was sent to Spain as delegate to the order which he afterwards introduced, though not without some difficulty, into France, where it took root and brought forth the fairest fruits.

The monasteries founded by St. François de Sales was also governed by the same mild spirit. He endeavoured to pursue every occupation with cheerful serenity, without painful effort or hurry. With the aid of his fellow-labourer, Mère de Chantal, he established the order of Visitation expressly for those whose delicate bodily frame prevented their entering the austerer communities. Not only did he avoid in his rule all acts of penance, strictly so called, and dispense the members of the order from the severer duties, but he warned them against indulging in excesses of enthusiastic feeling. We must, he says, without over-anxious self-investigation, place ourselves before the face of God our Father, and not seek to enjoy more of his presence than he sees fit to grant us : under the garb of religious ecstasy, arrogance and conceit easily get possession of the soul ; we ought to walk humbly in the strait and beaten path of virtue. On this principle he enjoined the care of the sick on his nuns as their first duty. The sisters were to go out, always two together, a superior and an attendant, to visit the indigent sick in their own

houses. "We must pray by our works, by labours of love," was the maxim of St. François de Sales. His order exercised a beneficent influence on the whole of France\*.

All these changes mark an evident progress from severity to moderation, from enthusiasm to serenity, and from a life of ascetical seclusion to the fulfilment of social duties.

The Ursuline nuns, who take a fourth vow to devote themselves to the education of young girls,—a duty which they performed with admirable zeal,—had already been received in France.

As might be concluded, a similar spirit was rife and active among the religious societies of men.

Jean Baptiste Romillon, who, up to his six-and-twentieth year, had borne arms against catholicism, but had then become a convert to it, now, with the assistance of a friend who shared his views, established the order of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine, which laid the foundation of elementary instruction in France.

We have already mentioned Berulle, one of the most distinguished French ecclesiastics of that time. From his earliest youth he had shown an ardent zeal to qualify himself for the service of the church: he kept daily present to him, as he says, "the truest and most intimate thought of his

\* E. g. in Gallitia, *Leben des heiligen Franz von Sales*, ii. 285. His character appears in the clearest and most attractive manner, however, in his own works, particularly, the *Introduction to a devotional Life*.

heart," which was to strive after the greatest attainable perfection. Perhaps the difficulties which he encountered in this work suggested to him the paramount necessity of an institution for the education of clergymen in the special and immediate duties of their vocation. He took as his model Filippo Neri, who had founded the establishment of priests of the oratory. He allowed no vows, only simple engagements ; he had sense and magnanimity enough to wish that those who did not feel a strong disposition for that service should quit it. This institution had great success ; the absence of severity attracted pupils of higher rank, and Berulle soon found himself at the head of a brilliant, able, and docile set of young men ; episcopal seminaries and learned schools were consigned to his direction, and a new and active spirit animated the clergy trained in his institution. It formed a great number of celebrated preachers, and from that time the character of the pulpit eloquence of France was determined\*.

It is impossible to pass over the congregation of St. Maur. Whilst the French benedictines embraced the reforms which their order had undergone in Lorraine, they added to the existing duties, that of devoting themselves to the education of the young nobility, and to letters. At the very commencement of this change appeared the celebrated Nicholas Hugo Ménard, who directed their studies

\* Tabaraud, Histoire de Pierre de Berulle, Paris, 1817.

to ecclesiastical antiquities, and to whom the world is indebted for so many magnificent works\*.

Mary of Medicis introduced into France the order of the brethren of mercy, founded by that unwearied servant of the sick, Juan de Dios†, a Portuguese, to whom that name was given, in a moment of admiration, by a Spanish bishop. They increased the severity of their rule, but this only served to procure them more followers, and in a short time we find thirty hospitals founded by them.

But what an undertaking is it to change the religious character of a whole nation,—to give a new direction to its faith and doctrine! In many of the more remote districts, among the country people, and even among the parish priests, the old abuses still prevailed; till at length, in the midst of this general religious excitement, Vincent de Paul, the great missionary of the common people, appeared, and founded the congregation of the mission, the members of which were to travel from place to place, and to excite and spread the spirit of piety through the remotest corners of the land. Vincent himself was a peasant's son, humble, full of zeal and of practical good sense‡. The order of the sisters of mercy also owes its origin to him; an

\* Filipe le Cerf, *Bibliothèque historique et critique des auteurs de la congrégation de S. Maur*, p. 355.

† *Approbatio congregationis fratrum Johannis Dei*, 1572. Kal. Jan. (Bullar. Cocquel. iv. iii. 190.)

‡ Stolberg, *Leben des heiligen Vincentius von Paulus*, Münster, 1813. The worthy Stolberg ought not however to have treated his hero as "a man by whom France had been regenerated." (p. 6. p. 399.)



order, in which the more delicate sex, at a time of life when all the visions of domestic happiness or worldly splendour float before their eyes, devoted themselves to the service of the sick,—often of the abandoned,—without venturing to give more than a transient expression to those religious feelings which were the source and spring of all their toils.

These efforts for the improvement or the consolation of humanity are now happily become of constant recurrence in every christian land; the education of the poor, the promotion of learning, and the mitigation of human suffering, everywhere command attention. Never will such efforts succeed without an union of varied ability and knowledge with religious enthusiasm. In protestant countries they are generally left to the energy of each successive generation, and to a sense of the necessities of the moment. But catholicism aims at giving an unalterable basis to associations formed for such objects, and a uniform direction to the religious impulse which prompts them; in order that every effort may be consecrated to the immediate service of the church, and that successive generations may be trained, by a silent but resistless process, in the same spirit.

The most important results were soon visible in France. Already, under Henry IV., the protestants felt that they were crippled and endangered by the searching and boundless activity displayed by their antagonists; for some time protestantism made no progress; soon after it began to lose ground, and

even before the death of that monarch they complained that desertion had commenced in their ranks.

And yet Henry had been forced by his policy to grant them fresh privileges, and to disregard the suggestions of the pope, who desired that they should be excluded from all public offices.

Mary of Medici, however, abandoned the policy which had been hitherto pursued, and on many points attached herself more closely to Spain. A decidedly catholic spirit predominated in domestic and foreign affairs, not only at court, but even in the assembly of estates. In the year 1614, the two first meetings expressly required the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent, and even the restoration of church property in Bearn.

It was exceedingly fortunate for the protestants, among whom also great zeal and activity prevailed for the interests of their church, that they occupied so strong a political situation, and were so formidable as to render it impossible to extinguish it. Since the government had joined their opponents, the protestants had found support and assistance from powerful malcontents, who have ever been, and will ever be, numerous in France. Some time therefore elapsed before it was possible to make a direct attack on them.

## CHAPTER II.

GENERAL WAR—TRIUMPHS OF CATHOLICISM.  
1617—1623.

## § 1. BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR.

**H**OWEVER widely different be the circumstances which we have thus seen developed, they combine to form one grand result ; on every side catholicism has advanced with mighty strides, on every side it has encountered a vigorous resistance. In Poland it has not succeeded in crushing its adversary, only because protestantism was there invincibly sustained by the sympathies of the neighbouring kingdoms. In Germany a compactly cemented opposition repelled the advances of the prevailing creed, and of the returning priesthood. The king of Spain reluctantly consented to grant the United Provinces an armistice which almost implied a formal recognition. The French huguenots were prepared against every attack by the possession of fortified towns, by disciplined and armed troops, and by well-considered financial arrangements. In Switzerland the balance of parties had long been consolidated on so firm a basis that regenerated catholicism had no power to derange it.

Europe thus appears to us divided into two worlds which surround, limit, expel, and assail each other at every point.

On instituting a general comparison between them, we are immediately struck with the far greater unity exhibited by the catholic party. We are indeed aware that it is not without intestine discords, but at present these are silenced. Above all, an amicable and even confidential intercourse subsists between France and Spain ; the occasional ebullitions of the old enmity of Venice or Savoy do not materially affect the general interests of catholicism ; and even such formidable attempts as the conspiracy against Venice pass over without serious disturbance. Pope Paul V., after the experience of the early part of his reign had afforded him such an impressive lesson, was calm and moderate ; he found means to maintain peace between the catholic powers, and occasionally gave an important turn to the general policy of Europe.

The protestants, on the other hand, had not only no centre of union, but since the death of Elizabeth of England and the accession of James I., who from the beginning of his reign maintained a somewhat equivocal policy, they had not even a leader. Lutherans and calvinists stood opposed to each other with a feeling of mutual hatred which necessarily led to opposite political measures. But the calvinists, or as they are called in Germany the reformed church, were also divided among themselves ; episcopalians and puritans, arminians and gomarists, attacked each other with

the fiercest hate ; and in the assembly of the huguenots at Saumur, in the year 1611, a schism broke out which was never radically healed.

This remarkable difference between the two great parties is certainly not to be ascribed to any inferiority in religious ardour and activity on the side of the catholics ; indeed we have just remarked the very contrary. A more probable cause is the following. Catholicism did not possess that energy inspired by an exclusive system of dogmas which was the characteristic of protestantism ; there were important and disputed questions which it left undetermined ; enthusiasm, mysticism, and that profound instinct or sentiment, hardly reaching the distinctness of thought, which from time to time will ever spring up anew out of the religious tendencies of our nature, were embraced and embodied by catholicism ; they were reduced to a regular system, and rendered subsidiary to the uses of religion in the form of monastic asceticism. This spirit was, on the contrary, repressed, condemned, and utterly rejected by protestantism. Hence among the protestants, these religious tendencies, abandoned to their own course, broke out in the shape of innumerable sects, each of which sought its own narrow but uncontrolled field of action.

In harmony with this view of the two grand divisions of the religious world is the fact, that literature, on the catholic side, had attained to far greater perfection and regularity of form. We may indeed assert that the modern classical forms and character of literature in Italy owe their

developement and finish to the auspices of the church ; in Spain, as considerable an approach to them was made as the genius of the nation permitted ; a similar progress commenced in France, where at a later period the classical type was so completely adopted, and with such brilliant results. Malherbe appeared, who first willingly submitted to rule and deliberately renounced all license\* ; and who gave added force and currency to his opinions in favour of monarchy and catholicism, by the epigrammatical precision, the ease and the elegance, (somewhat prosaical indeed, but admirably adapted to the French mind) with which he expressed them. In the Germanic nations this classical tendency obtained no such triumph, even on the catholic side ; it got possession only of Latin poetry, in which it sometimes has the air of a parody, even in the works of a man of such remarkable talent as Balde. All that was written in the vernacular tongue continued to be a genuine expression of nature. Still less successful was the imitation of the antique among the protestants of these nations. Shakspeare places the whole matter and spirit of the romantic before our eyes, in forms of imperishable beauty ; —the free and spontaneous offspring of a mind to which antiquity and history were but ministering servants. From the workshop of a German shoemaker there issued poems, obscure, formless, and

\* The genius of Malherbe and his style of writing are discussed in the recent and remarkable additions to the biography of the poet, by Racan, in the *Mémoires* or rather *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Reaux, published by Monmerqué, 1834, i. p. 195.

inscrutable, but possessed of a resistless attraction, marked by a German depth of feeling and by a religious contemplation of the world, which have never found their equal ;—the genuine inspiration of nature.

But I will not attempt to describe the contrasts presented by these two intellectual worlds ; it were impossible to embrace them all without having devoted more attention to that of the protestant party. I may however be permitted to enlarge upon one aspect of this subject, which had a direct influence on the events we are contemplating.

The monarchical tendencies were now predominant in the catholic world. Ideas of popular rights, of legitimate resistance to monarchs, of the sovereignty of the people, of the lawfulness of putting kings to death, &c., which thirty years before were maintained by the most zealous catholics, were now no longer in fashion. No considerable contest was now going on between a catholic population and a protestant prince ; England was quiet even under James I. ; and the theories we have just alluded to became wholly inapplicable to existing circumstances. Hence it followed that the religious principle became more intimately connected with the dynastical one ; and if I mistake not, this connexion was greatly aided by the superiority in personal character and qualities which distinguished the catholic rulers. This at least was the case in Germany. The aged bishop Julius of Würzburg, the first who attempted a thorough counter-reformation

in Germany, was still living. Elector Schweikard, of Mayence, performed the functions of arch-chancellor of the empire with an ability exalted by his warm and sincere interest in public affairs, and restored to that dignity its high influence\*. The two other Rhenish electors were resolute, active men; by their side stood the manly, acute, indefatigable Maximilian of Bavaria, an able administrator, filled with lofty political objects; and archduke Ferdinand, invincible in the strength of the faith which he held with all the fervour of an energetic soul; almost all of them disciples of the jesuits, who had the art of instilling a certain grandeur and elevation of views into the minds of their pupils; all of them reformers, in their way, who had brought about that state of things which now existed, by their ardent exertions and their religious enthusiasm.

The protestant princes, on the contrary, were rather heirs to the labours of others, than originators of new enterprises; they stood in the second or third generation. In a few there were marks of some activity, but I think rather prompted by ambition and restlessness, than by energy of character or genuine strength of mind.

On the other hand, there now appeared a manifest inclination towards a republican form of government, or at least towards the independence of

\* Montorio, *Relatione di Germania*, 1624 : “Di costumi gravi, molto intento alle cose del governo così spirituale come temporale, molto bene affetto verso il servizio di cotesta santa sede, desideroso del progresso della religione, una de’ primi prelati della Germania.”



the aristocracy. In many countries, as for instance in France, in Poland, and in all the Austrian dominions, a powerful protestant nobility was engaged in an open struggle with the catholic government ; and the republic of the Netherlands, which daily rose to a higher pitch of prosperity, afforded a brilliant example of what might be attained by such a resistance. It was certainly matter of debate among the nobles at that time in Austria, whether they should not emancipate themselves from the reigning family, and frame a constitution like that of Switzerland or the Netherlands. The success of such plans afforded the only chance to the imperial cities of once more rising to importance, and they accordingly took a lively share in them. The internal organization of the huguenot party was already republican, and indeed not devoid of democratic elements. In England these were represented by the puritans arrayed against a protestant king. There is extant a little treatise by an imperial ambassador to Paris of that time, in which he earnestly calls the attention of the sovereigns of Europe to the common danger which threatened them from the growth of this spirit.\*

At the moment in question the catholic world was united, classical, monarchical ; the protestant, divided, romantic, republican.

\* *Advis sur les causes des mouvemens de l'Europe, envoyé aux roys et princes pour la conservation de leurs royaumes et principautés, fait par Messir Al. Cunr. baron de Fridemburg, et présenté au roy très chrestien par le comte de Furstemberg, ambassadeur de l'empereur. Inserted in the Mercure François, tom. ix. p. 342.*

In the year 1617, everything tended towards a decisive struggle between them. It appears that the catholic party felt its own superiority ; at any rate it was the first aggressor.

On the 15th June 1617, an edict was published in France, in virtue of which the church property in Bearn was restored. This had long been demanded by the catholic clergy, but had constantly been refused by the court, out of a prudential deference to the interests and wishes of the huguenot chiefs, and to the general power of that party. It was obtained from Luines, who, although the protestants had at first relied upon him\*, had gradually attached himself to the jesuit or papal party. In several places, the mob, encouraged by this disposition on the part of the government, had risen tumultuously, sounded the tocsin, and attacked the protestants ; the parliaments, too, took part against them.

The Polish prince Wladislaus once more took arms in the confident expectation that he should now occupy the throne of Moscow. It was thought that designs upon Sweden were connected with his enterprise, and war between Poland and Sweden immediately broke out afresh†.

\* This, amongst other pieces of information, is to be gathered from a letter by Duplessis Mornay, Saumur, 26 Avril, 1617, "sur ce coup de majorité," as he styles the murder of the *maréchal d'Ancre*. *La vie de du Plessis*, p. 465.

† *Hiärn, Esth-Lyf- und Lettländische Geschichte*, p. 418. "The Swedes knew that the king of Poland had sent his son into Russia accompanied by a considerable force, with the inten-

But the events of far the greatest importance were preparing in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. The archdukes had been reconciled and cordially reunited. With the magnanimity and sense which that house has often displayed in moments of danger, the other brothers relinquished to archduke Ferdinand the claims which naturally devolved on them after the death of the emperor Matthias, who had no issue ; and in a short time he was actually recognised as successor to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia. This was indeed only an adjustment of personal claims, but its effects on the public interests were not the less important.

From so determined a zealot as Ferdinand, nothing could be expected, but that he would immediately endeavour to secure an absolute and undivided supremacy to his own creed at home, and would then apply the whole collective strength of these countries to the propagation of catholicism abroad ;—designs pregnant with danger to all protestants in his hereditary dominions, in Germany, and indeed throughout Europe.

tion of surprising the fortresses which had been yielded up by the Moscovites to the Swedes, in order that, should this scheme be successful, he might, with the greater ease, himself attack the kingdom of Sweden : indeed, aid in the execution of this latter design had been promised him both at the diet of the States held in Poland, and by the house of Austria ; hence he turned his thoughts more upon this matter than anything else.”

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But this very danger instantly aroused opposition. The protestants, who had resisted the encroachments of catholicism, were not only armed for self-protection, but had boldness enough to relinquish their defensive attitude for one of attack.

In the elector palatine Frederic were concentrated all the elements of European protestantism. His wife was the daughter of the king of England, and the niece of the king of Denmark ; his uncle was prince Maurice of Orange ; and nearly related to him was the leader of the huguenots of the less pacific party, the Duc de Bouillon. He himself stood at the head of the German Union. He was a prince of stern, sedate character, endowed with sufficient self-command to avoid the dissolute habits which then degraded the courts of Germany, and chiefly solicitous to fulfil his duties as ruler, and sedulously to attend the sittings of his privy council ; a man of a proud and melancholy nature, full of high thoughts\*. In his father's time there were tables in the dining-hall for nobles and councillors ; he caused them all to be removed, and would eat in company with none but princes or persons of the most illustrious rank. The feel-

\* *Relatione di Germania, 1617*: "Federico IV. d'età di anni 20, di mezzana statura, d'aspetto grave, di natura malinconico, di carnagione buona, uomo di alti pensieri, e rare volte si rallegra, e coll' appoggio dell' accasamento fatto con la figliuola del re d'Inghilterra e di altri parenti e confederati aspirarebbe a cose maggiori se segli appresentasse occasione a proposito : onde essendo ben conosciuto suo naturale per il colonello di Scomburg già suo ajo, seppe così ben valersene, accomodandosi al suo umore, che mentre visse fu più d'ogni altro suo confidente."

ing of a high political vocation was cherished at this court, which designedly engaged in a thousand connexions involving remote consequences. So long a time had elapsed since there had been any serious war, that people had no distinct idea what the future would bring forth; and the field was thus left open to the wildest and most daring schemes.

Such was the temper of the court of Heidelberg, when the Bohemians, who had had a rupture with the house of Austria, which daily assumed a more violent and stormy character (especially in consequence of the sense of that danger to their religious rights to which we have alluded), determined to throw off their allegiance to Ferdinand, although he already held their promise, and to offer the crown to the elector palatine.

For a moment Frederic hesitated. There was as yet no example of one German prince wresting from another a throne which was his by legitimate succession. But all his friends,—Maurice, who had never approved the truce with the Spaniards; the Duc de Bouillon; Christian of Anhalt, who took a comprehensive view of the whole mechanism and bearing of European policy, and was persuaded that no one would have the courage or the power to oppose the step when once taken,—all these, his most confidential advisers, urged him on; till at length, hurried away by the sight of the boundless vista it opened to him, by ambition and by religious zeal, he accepted the proffered crown (August 1619). What must have been the results if he could have maintained his position! The power

of the house of Austria in the east of Europe would have been broken—the progress of catholicism for ever checked.

And already strong sympathies were at work in his favour. There was an universal stir among the huguenots in France; the Béarnois resisted the king's commands; the assembly at Loudun took part with them, and nothing could have been more desirable to the queen-mother than to gain over the support of this opposition party, which was ready to come to open war; Rohan was already on her side, and had promised her the co-operation of the rest.

In the Grisons, the scene of incessant agitation, the catholic or Spanish party was again subjugated, and the protestant predominant. The court at Davos received with pleasure the envoy of the new king of Bohemia, and promised him to hold the passes of the country against the Spaniards for ever\*.

It is well worthy of remark, that these successes on the side of protestantism were accompanied by a simultaneous rise of the republican spirit. Not only did the estates of Bohemia maintain a national independence of the king on whom they had bestowed the crown, but in all the hereditary domains of Austria an attempt was made to imitate them. The German imperial cities conceived fresh hopes; and the most liberal and timely pecuniary

\* Those who were contemporary with these events perceived their connexion, which at a later period, was no longer attended to. Fürstl. Anhaltische Geh. Canzlei Fortsetzung, p. 67.

aid which Frederic received was furnished by them.

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But it was precisely this obvious disposition on the part of the people to connect religion with politics, which now drew closer the ties that bound together the catholic princes.

Maximilian of Bavaria and Ferdinand, who had had the good fortune at this moment to be chosen emperor, contracted the strictest alliance ; the king of Spain prepared to give efficient succour, and pope Paul V. was prevailed upon to furnish very considerable and welcome subsidies.

As in the stormy season of the year the winds sometimes suddenly veer completely round, so the tide of fortune and success now all at once turned.

The catholics succeeded in winning over to their cause the elector of Saxony, one of the most powerful protestant princes;—a lutheran however, and a bitter and inveterate foe to every calvinistic innovation.

They immediately conceived hopes of victory. A single battle on the Weissberg, on the 8th of November, 1620, put an end to the power of the elector palatine Frederic, and to all his projects.

For the Union did not defend its chief with the requisite vigour. It may be that the united princes took alarm at the republican spirit afloat, and dreaded its consequences to themselves ; they refused to open the Rhine to the Dutch, and feared the analogies which the government of the United Provinces might suggest to their own subjects.

The catholics immediately obtained the ascendancy in southern Germany also. The Upper Palatinate was attacked by Bavaria, the Lower by Spain ; and in April, 1621, the Union was dissolved. All who had been active in the cause of Frederic were driven out of the country, or entirely ruined. The catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger, to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces.

Meanwhile a great crisis also took place in France. After a victory which the royal power had obtained over the rebellious factions of the court, headed by the queen mother (with whom the huguenots unquestionably were in correspondence\*), the papal nuncio urged the necessity of taking advantage of the favourable moment for a general attack upon protestantism ; he would hear of no delays ; in France, what was once put off, he said, was never done at all†. Luynes and the king were carried away by his arguments. In Bearn the old factions of Beaumont and Grammont, which had been fighting for centuries, still existed, and their feud enabled the king to march unresisted into the country, to disband the military force, dissolve the constitution, and restore the dominion of the catholic church. The protestants in the other parts of France made some

\* Benoist himself says, ii. 291, “ Les réformés n’auroient attendu que les premiers succès pour se ranger au même parti (de la reine).”

† Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 148.



demonstrations of taking up the cause of their co-religionists ; but in the year 1621 they were beaten in every quarter.

About this same time Giacopo Robustelli, a captain of the Valteline, having collected a band of catholic exiles and banditti from the Milanese and Venetian territories, resolved to put an end to the sovereignty of the Grisons, whose protestant yoke was so oppressive to his countrymen. This lawless and sanguinary band was inflamed to a furious pitch of religious fanaticism by the exhortations of a capuchin friar ; on the 19th of July, 1620, they found an entrance into Tirano, and at break of day rang the bells of the churches : the protestants hearing this rushed out of their houses, when Robustelli's troops fell upon them and massacred them all. The same fierce tragedy was acted through the whole valley. In vain did the people of the Grisons make repeated descents from their lofty mountains in the hope of regaining their power ; they were beaten every time. In the year 1621 the Austrians entered the Grisons proper from the Tyrol, and the Spaniards from Milan. " The wild mountains echoed with the shrieks of death, and were fearfully lighted up with the flames of the solitary dwellings." The passes and the whole country were taken.

These triumphs of their arms awakened all the hopes of the catholics.

The pope represented to the court of Spain, that the Netherlanders were divided and now without allies, and that a more seasonable time could not

possibly occur for renewing the war against the rebels; his representations were successful\*. The chancellor of Brabant, Peter Peckius, appeared at the Hague on the 25th of March, 1621, and instead of proposing a renewal of the truce which just then expired, proposed the recognition of the legitimate princes†. The States General declared this suggestion to be unjust, unexpected, and inhuman, and hostilities broke out afresh.

Here too the Spaniards were at first successful. They took Juliers from the Netherlanders, which greatly facilitated their enterprises on the Rhine; the whole of the left bank from Emmeric to Strasburg was in their hands.

These numerous victories conspiring to one end, occurring in so many different quarters, and attributable to such various causes and antecedents, yet, when viewed with reference to the state and progress of the public mind throughout Europe, constitute but one individual fact. Let us now attend to the more weighty point—the purposes to which those victories were turned.

\* Instruttione a M<sup>re</sup> Sangro. “Là onde S. M<sup>ta</sup> non può voltare le sue forze in miglior tempo ovvero opportunità.”

† Literally he pressed for a union,—“sub agnitione dominorum principumque legitimorum.” Both the demand and the answer are to be found in Leonis ab Aitzema historia tractatum pacis Belgicæ, p. 2 and 4.

## § 2. GREGORY XV.

During the procession to celebrate the victory of the Weissberg, Paul V. was struck with apoplexy. Shortly afterwards he had a second stroke, of the effects of which he died, 28th January, 1621.

The new election differed little in its general features from the preceding ones. Paul V. had reigned so long that nearly the whole college had been renewed during his pontificate, and hence by far the greater number of the cardinals were dependents of his nephew, cardinal Borghese. After some hesitation and debate, Borghese found a man who united the suffrages of all his adherents, —Alessandro Ludovisio of Bologna, who was forthwith elected on the 9th February, 1621, and took the name of Gregory XV.

He was a small phlegmatic man, who had formerly acquired the reputation of being a skilful negotiator, possessing the art of silently and unostentatiously accomplishing his ends\*. Now, however, he was feeble, and sick, and bent with age.

What part in the struggle now going on—a struggle involving the destinies of the world—was to be expected from a pope, to whom his ministers and attendants often did not venture to communi-

\* *Relatione di IV ambasciatori, 1521* : “ Di pelo che avvicinasi al biondo. La natura sua è sempre conosciuta placida e flemmatica, lontana dall’imbarraciarsi in rotture, amicissimo d’andare in negotio destreggiando et avanzando li proprj fini.”

cate critical affairs, lest they should give the last shock to his frail existence\*?

But the powers of the papacy, which were too mighty for the dying arm of Gregory to wield, were instantly grasped by his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisio, a young man of twenty-five, who displayed all the talent and boldness which the posture of things demanded.

Ludovico was magnificent and brilliant; he never neglected an opportunity of obtaining wealth, of forming advantageous alliances, of promoting and favouring his friends; he was disposed to enjoy life, and indulgent to the enjoyments of others; but he never lost sight of the great interests of the church. Even his enemies admitted his great talents for the conduct of business; his singular justness of mind and tact in discovering a satisfactory way out of the most embarrassing difficulties, and that calm and cool courage which enables a man to descry a possible event in the dim horizon of the future, and to steer his course steadily towards it†. Had not the feebleness of his uncle, which promised him but a short tenure of power,

\* Rainier Zeno, *Relatione di Roma*, 1623: "Aggiungendosi all' età cadente una fiacchissima complessione in un corpiccivolo stenuato e mal affetto."

† Rainier Zeno: "È d'ingegno vivacissimo: l' ha dimostrato nel suo governo per l'abondanza dei partiti che in ogni grave trattatione gli suggerivano suoi spiriti nati per comandare, i quali se bene in molte parti aberravano dell' uopo della bona politica, nondimeno l'intrepidezza, con la quale si mostrava pronto ad abbracciare ogni ripiego appreso da lui per buono, poco curandosi di consigli di chi gli haveria potuto esser maestro, davano a credere che la sua natura sdegnava una privata conditione."

held him in fetters, his fearless spirit would have shrunk from no consideration of danger.

It was a most important circumstance, that not only the pope, but his nephew, was filled with the conviction that the salvation of the world depended on the spread of catholicism. Cardinal Ludovisio, educated by the jesuits, was their great patron. The church of St. Ignatius at Rome was built chiefly at his cost ; he attached considerable importance to his office of protector of the capuchins, and declared that he thought this the most important patronage he enjoyed. He devoted himself warmly and by predilection to the most orthodox and rigid forms of Romanist opinions\*. We can hardly convey a more accurate idea of the spirit of the new papal government, than by recalling the fact, that it was under Gregory XV. that the propaganda was instituted, and that the founders of the order of Jesus, Ignatius and Xavier, were canonized.

The origin of the propaganda is properly to be traced to an edict of Gregory XIII. ; in virtue of which a certain number of cardinals were charged with the direction of missions to the east, and catechisms were ordered to be printed in the less known languages†. But the institution was neither firmly established, nor provided with the requisite funds, nor arranged on a comprehensive scale. At that time there was a celebrated preacher at Rome, one Girolamo da Narni, who had acquired universal respect by a life which secured him the reputation

\* Giunti, Vita e fatti di Ludovico Ludovisio. MS.

† Cocquelines, Præfatio ad Maffei Annales Gregorio XIII., p.v.

of a saint, and who displayed a copiousness of thought, a purity of expression, and a majesty of delivery in the pulpit, which carried away all his hearers. As Bellarmine once came from hearing him preach, he said he thought that one of St. Augustine's three wishes had just been granted to him,—the wish to hear St. Paul. Cardinal Ludovisio was one of his patrons and admirers, and defrayed the expenses of printing his sermons. This capuchin now conceived the idea of extending the institution in question\*. By his advice a congregation in all its forms was founded, and charged to hold regular sittings for the purpose of watching over the conduct of missions in every part of the world, and to assemble at least once a month in the presence of the pope. Gregory XV. advanced the first funds, and his nephew contributed to them from his private purse; and as this institution met a want, the existence of which was really felt and acknowledged, its success was daily more and more brilliant. But it is needless to enlarge on its achievements. Who does not know what the propaganda has done for philological learning? Nor was this all,—for it laboured (and perhaps in the first years of its existence with the amplest results) to fulfil its general vocation with admirable grandeur of conception and execution.

\* Fr. Hierothei, *Epitome historica rerum Franciscanarum*, etc. p. 362: “publicis suasionibus et consiliis privatis.” Fra Girolamo had worked upon the pope. Compare Cerri, *Etat présent de l'église Romaine*, (p. 289,) where may also be found a more detailed account of the institution and the increase of its wealth.

The canonization of the two jesuits was prompted by the same views. "At the time," says the bull, "when new worlds were just discovered ; when in the old, Luther had risen up in arms against the catholic church, the soul of Ignatius Loyala was inspired to found a company which should devote itself specially to bring about the conversion of the heathen and the return of heretics. But of all its members, Francisco Xavier proved himself most worthy to be called the apostle of the new-discovered nations. For this cause both are now to be received into the catalogue of saints. Churches and altars, whereon sacrifice is offered to God, are to be dedicated to them\*."

In the spirit revealed in these acts, the new papal government now took prompt measures that the victories gained by catholicism might be followed up by conversions, and all the conquests of the church justified and confirmed by the re-establishment of religion. "We must apply all our thoughts," says one of Gregory XVth's first instructions, "to extract the greatest possible advantage from the happy revulsion that has taken place, and from the triumphant attitude of the church."

A project which was executed with signal success.

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\* Bullarium Cocquelines, v. 131, 137.

## § 3. BOHEMIA AND THE HEREDITARY DOMINIONS OF AUSTRIA.

The attention of the papal government was first turned to the rising fortunes of catholicism in the Austrian provinces.

Gregory XV. not only doubled the subsidy which the emperor had hitherto received\*, but promised him a sum of no inconsiderable amount as a gift in addition,—although, as he said, he retained hardly enough to live on;—at the same time urging him not to delay a single moment to follow up his victory, and instantly to begin the work of re-establishing the catholic religion†, by which alone he could prove his gratitude to the God of victory. He lays it down as a first principle, that the nations, by their rebellious backslidings, had fallen under the necessity of a more rigid control; and must be compelled by force to abandon their godless ways.

The nuncio whom Gregory XV. sent to the em-

\* From 20,000 gulden to 20,000 scudi. The present was to consist of 200,000 scudi. He would have liked with this money to support a number of regiments to be placed under the papal authority.

† Instruttione al vescovo d'Aversa, 12 Apr. 1621: "Non è tempo di indugi nè di coperti andamenti." In particular they thought at Rome that Bucquoi was far too slow: "La prestezza apportarebbe il rimedio di tanti mali, se dal conte di Bucquoi per altro valoroso capitano ella si potesse sperare."



peror was that Carlo Caraffa so celebrated in German history. From the two reports which he left, the one printed, the other in MS., we can ascertain with perfect distinctness what were the measures he adopted for the attainment of these ends.

In Bohemia, the scene of his first exertions, he immediately endeavoured to banish the protestant preachers and schoolmasters, "who were guilty of offence against divine and human majesty."

This was not so easy; the members of the imperial government at Prague deemed it as yet too perilous. It was not till Mansfeld was driven out of the Upper Palatinate, all danger from without at an end, and some regiments marched to Prague at the nuncio's request, that on the 13th December, 1621, they ventured to proceed to this extreme measure; and even then they spared the two lutheran preachers, out of deference to the elector of Saxony. The nuncio, representative of a principle which knew no respect of persons, and scorned all compromise, would hear nothing of this; he complained that the whole people were devoted to these men; that a catholic priest had nothing to do, and could not find the means of subsistence\*. In October 1622 he at length carried his point,

\* Caraffa ragguaglio MS.: "Conducevano in disperatione i parrochi cattolici per vedersi da essi (Luterani) levarsi ogni emolumento." The printed *Commentarii*, however, contain a more ostensible notice: "Quamdiu illi hærebant, tamdiu adhuc sperabant sectarii S. majestatem concessurum aliquando liberam facultatem." (p. 130.)

and the lutheran ministers also were banished. It seemed for a moment as if the fears of the council of government would be verified ; the elector of Saxony published a threatening manifesto, and assumed a hostile attitude on the most important questions ; even the emperor once told the nuncio that there had been far too much haste, and that it would have been better to choose a more seasonable time\*. Nevertheless means were found to keep Ferdinand steady to his purpose ; the old bishop of Würzburg represented to him that “ a glorious emperor ought not to be appalled by dangers ; at all events it were better for him to fall into the hands of men, than into the hands of the living God.” The emperor yielded. The nuncio enjoyed the triumph of seeing Saxony consent to the banishment of the preachers, and retract his opposition.

The way was thus smoothed. The places of the protestant preachers were filled by dominicans, augustines, and carmelites, for there was a great want of secular clergy ; a complete colony of franciscans arrived from Gnesen, and jesuits were sure

\* Caraffa, ragguaglio : “ Sua M<sup>ta</sup> mi si dimostrò con questo di qualche pensiero, ed uscì a dirmi che si haveva havuta troppa prescia e che saria stato meglio cacciare quei predicanti in altro tempo dopo che si fosse tenuto il convento in Ratisbona. Al che io replicai che Sua Maestà poteva havere più tosto errato nella tardanza che nella fretta circa questo fatto, poichè se il Sassone fosse venuto al convento, di che non ammettono che egli havesse avuta mai la volontà, si sapeva per ognuno che haverebbe domandato à S. Mà che a sua contemplazione permettesse in Praga l'esercizio Luterano che già vi era.”

to be found in abundance; accordingly, when a missive arrived from the propaganda charging them to take upon themselves the duty of parish priests, they had already done so\*.

The only question now seemed to be, whether they should allow the national utraquist mode of worship to subsist, at least partially, according to the decrees of the council of Basle. The council of government, and the governor himself, prince Lichtenstein, were for it†. On Holy Thursday 1622, they permitted the Lord's supper to be once more administered in both kinds, and a murmur arose among the people that they would not suffer this ancient usage, handed down to them from their forefathers, to be torn from them. But the nuncio was deaf to every attempt to induce him to consent to this heretical practice; he adhered to the views of the curia with inflexible obstinacy, certain that the emperor would in the end approve his conduct; and in fact he succeeded in extracting from him a declaration that his temporal administration was not to interfere in the affairs of religion. From this time mass was universally performed according to the Roman ritual; in Latin, with aspersion of holy water and invocation of saints; the celebration of the sacrament in both

\* Cordara, *Historia societatis Jesu*, tom. vi. lib. vii. p. 38.

† According to the opinions prevailing up to that time, e. g. in Senkenberg, continuation of the *Reichshistorie* by Häberlins, vol. xxv. p. 156, note k, we ought to believe the contrary of Lichtenstein. That, however, would be an entirely false view, as appears from Caraffa. The nuncio, on the contrary, met with assistance from Plateis.

kinds was wholly prohibited, and the boldest advocates of that practice were thrown into prison: lastly, the ancient symbol of Utraquism, the large cup with the sword, affixed to the Thein church, the very sight of which kept alive the old recollections, was pulled down. On the 6th of July, which had always been kept as a holiday in memory of John Huss, the churches were carefully closed.

The government now lent all the aid of political means to this rigorous enforcement of the dogmas and the usages of the church of Rome. A considerable portion of the landed property of the country was thrown into catholic hands by confiscation; the acquisition of land by protestants was rendered nearly impossible\*; the council of all the royal cities was changed; no member was tolerated in those bodies whose catholicism was the least suspected; the rebellious were pardoned as soon as they abjured protestantism, while, on the other hand, the perverse, the unpersuadable, who would not listen to ghostly admonitions, had troops quartered in their houses; "in order," to use the exact words of the nuncio, "that their vexations may give them some insight into the truth†."

The effects wrought by this joint application of force and argument were unexpected even to the

\* Caraffa: "Con ordine che non si potessero inserire nelle tavole del regno, il che apportò indicibile giovamento alla riforma per tutto quel tempo."

† "Acciò il travaglio desse loro senso ed intelletto;" which expression is repeated in the printed work: "cognitumque fuit solam vexationem posse Bohemis intellectum præbere."

nuncio. He was astonished at the numerous congregations which attended the churches in Prague, frequently on a Sunday morning consisting of from two to three thousand people, and at their humble, devout, and most catholic deportment. He infers from this, that catholic recollections and associations had never been entirely obliterated in these parts, (a proof of which was, that even the wife of king Frederic was not permitted to remove the great crucifix on the bridge): its real cause doubtless was, that protestant convictions had never penetrated the masses. Nothing could arrest the work of conversion; the jesuits assert that in the year 1624 they alone brought back 16,000 souls to the catholic church\*. In Tabor, where protestantism appeared to have exclusive sway, fifty families went over to the faith at Easter, 1622; and at Easter, 1623, their example was followed by all the remaining population. In the course of time Bohemia became thoroughly catholic. The example of that country was followed by Moravia, where, indeed, the object was more rapidly obtained, in consequence of the union of temporal and spiritual power in the hands of cardinal Dietrichstein, who was at the same time governor of the province and bishop of Olmütz. But a singular obstacle here presented itself. The nobility could not be brought to hear of the expulsion of the Moravian brethren, who were invaluable as domestic servants

\* Caraffa: "Messovi un sacerdote catolico di molta dottrina e poi facendosi missioni di alcuni padri Gesuiti."

or husbandmen, and whose settlements were the most thriving places in the whole country\*. They found advocates even in the emperor's privy council. Nevertheless the nuncio and the principle of which he was the organ, conquered even here. About 15,000 were expelled.

Under these circumstances, the often-repeated, and as often unsuccessful, attempts to re-establish catholicism in Austria proper, were at length renewed with triumphant success†. First the protestant preachers accused of rebellion, then all the others, were banished: furnished with a pittance for their subsistence on the road, the unfortunate

\* Ragguaglio di Caraffa: "Essendo essi tenuti huomini d'industria e d'integrità venivano impiegati nella custodia de' terreni, delle case, delle cantine e de' molini, oltre che lavorando eccellentemente in alcuni mestieri erano divenuti ricchi e contribuivano gran parte del loro guadagno a' signori de' luoghi ne' quali habitavano, sebbene da qualche tempo indietro havevano cominciato a corrompersi essendo entrata tra di loro l'ambizione e l'avarizia con qualche parte di lusso per comodità della vita. Costoro si erano sempre andati augumentando in Moravia, perciocchè oltre a quelli che seducevano nella provincia e ne' luoghi vicini, havevano corrispondenza per tutti li luoghi della Germania, di dove ricorrevano alla loro fratellanza tutti quelli che per debito o povertà disperavano potersi sostentare, e specialmente veniva ad essi gran numero di poveri Grisoni e di Svevia lasciandosi rapire da quel nome di fratellanza e sicurtà di havere sempre del pane, che in casa loro diffidavano potersi col proprio sudore guadagnare, onde si sono avanzati alle volte sino al numero di centomila."

† This had been the emperor's first thought, even before the battle of Prague, when Maximilian first entered the territory of Upper Austria: he pressed the latter to remove the preachers without delay, "so that the pipers might be dismissed, and the dance stopped." His letter is in Breier's continuation of Wolf's Maximilian, iv. 414.

men slowly ascended the Danube amidst insulting cries of, 'Where is now your strong tower?' The emperor plainly declared to the provincial estates, "that he had absolutely and incontestably retained, for himself and his posterity, the disposal of all things concerning religion." In October, 1624, a commission appeared, fixing a certain time within which the inhabitants must profess the catholic faith or void the country. Some degree of indulgence was for the moment shown to the nobility alone.

In Hungary, though conquered, it was not possible to proceed in so tyrannical a manner; yet even here the current of things, the favour of the government, and, above all, the exertions of archbishop Pazmany, wrought a considerable change. Pazmany possessed in a singular degree the talent of writing his mother-tongue well. His book, called 'Kalauz\*,' full of ability and learning, was irresistibly attractive to his countrymen. Nor was the gift of eloquence denied him: we are told that he personally persuaded fifty families,—among whom we find the names of Zrinyi, Forgacz, Erdödy, Balassa, Jakusith, Homonay, and Adam Thurzo—to abandon the protestant faith. Count Adam Zrinyi alone expelled twenty protestant ministers, and put catholic priests in their stead. Under these influences, the political affairs of the kingdom of Hungary took a new turn. At the diet of 1625, the catholic Austrian party had the

\* *Hodœgus Igazságra vezérlő Kalauz.* Presburg, 1613, 1623.

majority. A convert recommended by the court—an Esterhazy—was named palatine.

But let us not omit to remark a difference. The conversions in Hungary were far more free and voluntary than in the other provinces of the empire; the magnate proselytes renounced none of their rights; they rather acquired new ones. In the Austro-Bohemian provinces, on the contrary, the entire independence of the estates,—their energy and their power,—had thrown itself into the form of protestantism; their conversion was, if not in every individual case, yet on the whole, compulsory; and the re-establishment of catholicism was accompanied by a restoration of the absolute power of the government.

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#### § 4. THE EMPIRE.—TRANSFER OF THE ELECTORATE.

We know how much greater progress the reformation had made in the German empire than in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria; nevertheless recent events had a mighty effect even in that province, where the counter-reformation at once acquired an accession of vigour and a new field of action.

Maximilian had hardly taken possession of the Upper Palatinate, when he set on foot measures for changing its religion. He divided the territory into twenty stations in which fifty jesuits were em-



ployed ; the churches were forcibly delivered into their hands, and the exercise of protestant worship universally forbidden ; while the disposition of the inhabitants to conform increased with the increasing probability that the country would return into the hands of Bavaria\*.

The victorious party regarded the Lower Palatinate also as completely their own. Maximilian actually gave the Heidelberg library to the pope ! Even before the conquest of that city, the pope had requested this as a favour of the duke, then at Cologne, through his nuncio, Montorio, and the duke had promised it with his accustomed ready obsequiousness ; as soon therefore as the news of the taking of Heidelberg reached Montorio, he asserted his claim to the library. He had been told that the manuscripts were of inestimable value, and he sent a special request to Tilly to protect them from injury during the pillage†. The pope then despatched doctor Leone Allacci, scriptor of the Vatican, to Germany, to take possession of the books. Gregory XV. carried the thing with a high hand. He declared this acquisition to be one of the fortunate events of his pontificate ; it would conduce, he said, to the honour and advantage of the holy see, the church, and of learning generally ; it was also glorious to the Bavarian name, that so

\* Kropff, *Historia societatis Jesu in Germania superiori*, tom. iv. p. 271.

† *Relatione di M<sup>r</sup> Montorio ritornato nunzio di Colonia, 1624.* The passage is given in the Appendix, No. 109.

precious a spoil should be preserved in Rome, the museum of the world, in eternal memory of the munificence of its princes\*.

The duke evinced in all respects an indefatigable zeal for catholic reform, even surpassing that of the Spaniards, who were certainly not subject to the reproach of lukewarmness in the cause†. The nuncio beheld with rapture mass celebrated and conversions taking place in Heidelberg, “whence the *norma* of the calvinists, the famous catechism, had gone forth.”

Meanwhile elector Schweikard was carrying on the work of reform in the Bergstrasse, which he had taken possession of; and margrave Wilhelm in Upper Baden, which was awarded to him after long litigation, although his birth was scarcely legitimate, much less of the requisite degree of nobility; he having expressly pledged himself to the nuncio Caraffa, to forward the views of the church if he succeeded‡. In districts too which were not immediately affected by political events, the ancient efforts in support of catholicism were prosecuted with fresh zeal§; in Bamberg, Fulda,

\* “Che così pretioso spoglio e così nobil trofeo si conservi a perpetua memoria in questo teatro del mondo.” Istruttioe dal dottore Leon Allatio per andare in Germania per la libreria del Palatino. See Appendix, No. 101, for an examination of the authenticity of this document.

† Montorio: “Benchè nelle terre che occupano i Spagnuoli non si camini con quel fervore con quale si camina in quelle che occupa il S<sup>r</sup> D<sup>a</sup> di Baviera alla conversione de’ popoli.”

‡ Caraffa, *Germania restaurata*, p. 129.

§ Johann Georg Fuchs of Dornheim was particularly active;

and Eichsfeld ; in Paderborn, where two catholic bishops in succession were appointed ; but more especially in the diocese of Münster, where Meppen, Vechta, Halteren, and many other districts were converted to catholicism in the year 1624 : we find jesuit missionaries as far as Halberstadt and Magdeburg ; they fixed themselves for a while in Altona, to learn the language, and thence to proceed to Norway and Denmark.

We see in what a mighty torrent catholicism poured from the south to the north of Germany. An attempt was now made to get possession of a new centre of operations whence to act upon the general affairs of the empire.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Union, Ferdinand II. had promised duke Maximilian that if their cause were successful, he would transfer the Palatine electorate to him\*.

There can be no question under what aspect this circumstance was mainly regarded in the catholic party. The majority which that party possessed in the council of princes had hitherto opposed the equality of voices which the protestants claimed in the electoral college ; if the contemplated transfer of the electorate took place, this check would be for ever removed†.

he won back three-and-twenty knights' parishes to catholicism. Jäck, Geschichte von Bamberg, ii. 120.

\* Letter from the emperor to Baltasar de Zuniga, 15 October, 1621, printed by Sattler, Württembergische Geschichte, vi. p. 162.

† Instruzione a Mr Sacchetti nuntio in Spagna, notices the restoration of the Palatinate as an "irreparabile perdita della reputazione di questo fatto e della chiesa cattolica, se il papa ci

The most intimate alliance had always existed between the papal court and Bavaria, and Gregory XV. now made this matter completely his own.

By the very first nuncio whom he sent to Spain, he admonished the king to lend his assistance to the destruction of the count palatine and to the transfer of the electorate ; measures which would for ever secure the imperial crown to the catholics\*. It was not easy to persuade the Spaniards to take this course. They were engaged in the most important negotiations with the king of England, and had some hesitation in offending him in the person of his son-in-law the count palatine Frederic, to whom the electorate actually belonged. Their reluctance served only to inflame the zeal of Gregory. Not satisfied with the exhortations of the nuncio, in the year 1622 he sent brother Hyacinth (a capuchin of great ability and address, who enjoyed the particular confidence of Maximilian), charged with a special commission to the Spanish court†. It was with extreme reluctance that the king went further into the matter ; he could only be brought to declare that he would rather see the electorate in the house of Bavaria than in his own.

avesse condisceso, con indicibil danno della religione cattolica e dell' imperio, che tanti e tanti anni hanno bramato, senza poterlo sapere non che ottenere, il quarto elettore cattolico in servizio ancora del sangue Austriaco."

\* Instruttione a Mons<sup>r</sup> Sangro. He is admonished, "di infervorare S. M<sup>ta</sup>, acciò non si lasci risorgere il Palatino, e si metta l'elettorato in persona cattolica, e si assicuri l'impero eternamente fra cattolici."

† Khevenhiller, ix. p. 1766.

This measure was suggested by Cardinal Farnese, of the persuasion he intended to remove all power to elect from the emperor's mind all attempts separating Spain and giving himself support there by the natural influence of the Italian Cardinals, and even by a great estate from the pope himself. "Behold," exclaims Gregory to the emperor, "the gates of heaven are opened: the heavenly hosts like thee or to win so great a glory; they will fight for thee in thy camp." The emperor was wrought upon by a singular consideration, which strikingly illustrates his character. He had long meditated this transfer, and had expressed his intention in a letter which fell into the hands of the protestants and was made public by them. The emperor thought himself as it were bound by this accidental publicity. He fancied it essential to the maintenance of his imperial dignity to adhere to an intention which he was known to have formed. In short he took the resolution of proceeding to execute the transfer at the next electoral diet\*.

It was however still a question whether the princes of the empire would consent. The most important among them was Schweikard of Mayence, and we learn from the nuncio Montorio, that this cautious prince was at first hostile to the measure, and declared that war would only break out afresh more fiercely than ever; and also that if there must be a change, the count palatine of Neuberg had the next claim, and could not possibly be passed

\* Caraffa, Germ. restaur., p. 120.

over. The nuncio does not relate by what arguments he at length overcame these objections ; “ In the four or five days,” says he, “ which I passed with him in Aschaffenburg, I obtained from him the desired decision.” We find only that he promised substantial assistance on the part of the pope, in case war should break out afresh.

The determination of the elector of Mayence was decisive as to the matter in question. Both his colleagues on the Rhine followed his example. In spite of the continued resistance of Brandenburg and Saxony (the opposition of Saxony not being overcome till a later period by the archbishop of Mayence\*), in spite of the declared hostility of the Spanish ambassador, the emperor steadily pursued his object. On the 25th of February 1623, he transferred the electorate to his victorious ally, under condition, it is true, that at first it should be only a personal possession, and that the palatine heirs and agnates should retain their rights as to the future†.

But even with this condition, the advantage gained was incalculable ; above all, the preponderancy in the supreme council of the empire, whose assent now gave a legal sanction to every fresh decision in favour of catholicism.

Maximilian clearly saw how much he was in-

\* Montorio calls Schweikard “ unico instigatore a far voltare Sassonia a favore dell’ imp<sup>re</sup> nella translatione dell’ elettorato.”

† The declaration of Oñates and the violent letter of Ludovisio against the restoration of an electorate into the hands of a blaspheming Calvinist. Khevenhiller, x. 67, 68.

debted to Gregory XV. "Your holiness," he writes, "has not only furthered this matter, but by your admonitions, your authority, your zealous exertions, has in reality accomplished it. It is to be absolutely and entirely ascribed to the favour and the vigilance of your holiness."

"Thy letter, O son," answered Gregory, "hath filled our breast with a stream of delight sweet as manna from heaven: at length may the daughter of Sion shake the ashes of mourning from her head, and array herself in festal garments\*."

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#### § 5. FRANCE.

At the moment these events were passing in Germany, the great tide in the affairs of France set in.

If we inquire what was the principal cause of the decline of protestantism in the year 1621, we shall find it in the internal divisions of the party, and still more in the apostasy of the nobles. It is possible that the latter was connected with that strong tendency towards republicanism on the part of the

\* Giunti, Vita di Ludovisio Ludovisi, ascribes the merit chiefly to the pope's kinsman. "Da S. S<sup>ta</sup> e dal C<sup>le</sup> furono scritte molte lettere anche di proprio pugno piene d'ardore et efficacia per disporre Cesare, et in oltre fu mandato M<sup>or</sup> Verospi auditore di rota e doppo il P. F. Giacinto di Casale cappuccino." Through these two, the emperor was told, "che il vicario di Christo per parte del S<sup>re</sup> fin con le lacrime lo pregava e scongiurava e le ne prometteva felicità e sicurezza della sua salute."

people, which was founded on a municipal as well as a theological basis, and was therefore hostile to the influence of the nobles. The nobility probably found it more for their advantage to attach themselves to the king and court, than to endure the tyranny of preachers and mayors. Whatever be the cause, in the year 1621, the governors of fortified towns vied with each other in alacrity in giving them up; every man sought only to bargain for an advantageous post for himself; the same scenes were renewed in 1622, when La Force and Chatillon received the batons of marshals on abjuring their faith; the aged Lesdiguières turned catholic\*, and even commanded a division against the protestants, and many others were carried away by the force of such examples†. Under these circumstances it was impossible to conclude a peace in 1622 on other than extremely unfavourable terms; nor dared the huguenots flatter themselves that even this peace would be maintained. Formerly, when the protestants were powerful, the king had often exceeded or broken his treaties with them; was it likely that he would observe them now that they had lost their power? The treaty of peace was accordingly violated in almost every particular; the exercise of protestant worship was

\* There are remarks on this conversion in the *Mémoires de Deageant*, at p. 190, and in several other places, which are well worthy of notice.

† *Liste des gentilhommes de la religion réduits au roi*, in *Malingle, Histoire des derniers troubles arrivés en France*, p. 789. Rohan also concluded his treaty; unhappily, the articles, as they appear in the *Mercure de France*, vii. p. 845, are not authentic.



in many places absolutely prevented ; the huguenots were forbidden to sing their psalms in the streets or shops ; their privileges in the universities were curtailed\* ; Fort Louis, which the government had bound itself to rase, was kept standing ; an attempt was made to transfer the choice of the magistrates of protestant cities into the hands of the king† ; on the 17th April 1622, an edict was issued appointing a commissary to be present at all meetings of huguenots ; and at length, after they had once been brought to endure these vast inroads on their ancient liberties, the government interfered in their affairs of a purely ecclesiastical nature ; the huguenots were hindered from receiving the decrees of the synod of Dort by the commissaries above mentioned.

They had no longer any independence ; they could no longer make a steady, persevering resistance, while on every side their ranks were thinned by conversions.

The capuchins filled Poictou and Languedoc with missions‡ ; the jesuits, who had obtained new establishments in Aix, Lyon, Pau, and many other places, had the most triumphant success both in the cities and the country ; their brotherhoods of the Virgin attracted universal notice and admiration by the care with which they had tended the wounded in the late war§.

There were also franciscans who rendered emi-

\* Benoist, ii. 419.

† Rohan, Mém. i. iii.

‡ Instruttione all' arcivescovo di Damiata, MS. See App. No. 106.

§ Cordara, Historia soc. Jesu, vii. 95, 118.

nent services to the cause ; as for instance, father Villele de Bourdeaux, of whom things almost fabulous are related. After having brought the whole city of Foix over to his faith, he succeeded in converting a man above a hundred years old,—the very same who had received the first protestant preacher from the hands of Calvin, and had conducted him to Foix. The protestant church was pulled down, and the fathers, in the insolence of their triumph, caused the exiled preacher to be accompanied from town to town by a trumpeter\*.

In a word, the work of conversion advanced with resistless force. The high and low, and even the learned, recanted ; the latter, particularly influenced by the assurance, that the invocation of saints, prayers for the dead, a hierarchy, and many other usages and institutions of the catholic church, had been recognised by the primitive church even before the council of Nice.

The reports of certain bishops are still extant, showing the numerical proportions of the two confessions which resulted from these changes. In the diocese of Poitiers half of the inhabitants of some cities were protestant, e. g. Lusignan and St. Maixant ; in others, such as Chauvigny and Niort, a third ; in Loudun a fourth ; in Poitiers itself only a twentieth, and in the rural districts the proportion was far smaller†. The bishops were in immediate correspondence with Rome respecting the

\* *Rélation Catholique*, inserted in the *Mercure François*, viii. 489.

† *Relatione del vescovo di Poitiers*, 1623. MS.

conversions; they sent regular reports and suggested whatever they deemed desirable; the nuncio was admonished to lay before the king any reports or requests they might transmit to him, and to support them by his recommendation. These documents are often filled with minute details. For example, the bishop of Vienne complains that the missionaries are extremely troubled and obstructed by a preacher in St. Marcellin, who has proved quite invincible in argument; the nuncio is commissioned to urge upon the court the expediency of his banishment. He is also desired to give his support to the bishop of St. Malo, who complained that in one castle in his diocese catholic worship was not tolerated. He is to have ready an accomplished converter (who is pointed out by name) for the bishop of Xaintes. Sometimes when the bishops met with obstacles, they are exhorted to state more in detail what can be done to remove them, in order that the nuncio may lay the same before the king\*.

\* Instruttione all' arcivescovo di Damietta:—one example may suffice. “ Dalla relatione del vescovo di Candon si cava, che ha il detto vescovo la terra di Neaco, ove sono molti eretici, con una missione di Gesuiti, li quali in danno s'affaticano se con l'autorità temporale il re non da qualche buon ordine: ed ella potrà scrivere al detto vescovo che avvisi ciò che può fare Sua M<sup>ta</sup>, perchè nella relazione non lo specifica. Da quella del vescovo di S. Malo s'intende che in un castello e villa del marchese di Moussey è solo lecito di predicare a Calvinisti: però sarebbe bene di ricordare alla M<sup>ta</sup> del re che levasse i predicatori acciocchè i missionarj del vescovo potessero far frutto: il castello e villa non è nominato nella relazione, e però si potrà scrivere al vescovo per saperlo. Il vescovo di Montpellier avvisa di haver carestia

The striking features of this period are, a close union between all spiritual authorities, the propaganda, (which, as we have remarked, displayed perhaps its greatest activity and vigour in the first years of its existence,) and the pope ; zeal and efficient activity in following up the advantages gained by arms ; and sympathy on the part of the court, which discerned its own strong political interest in what was going on ; and, as the result of these combined causes, the inevitable and final downfall of protestantism in France.

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§ 6. UNITED NETHERLANDS.

Nor was the revolution in opinion we have just been contemplating confined to countries in which the government was catholic ; it displayed itself at the same moment under protestant rulers.

We are astonished at finding that even in Bentivoglio's time, in those very cities of the Low Countries which made so long and so heroic a resistance to the king of Spain, chiefly on account of religion, the majority of the great families had again become catholic\* ; but we are far more amazed when we read the details of the spread and progress of catholicism under circumstances so unfavourable, which are to

d'operarj, e che dagli eretici sono sentiti volontieri i padri Cappuccini, onde se gli potrebbe procurare una missione di questi padri."

\* *Relatione delle provincie ubbidienti*, parte ii. c. ii., in which the state of religion in Holland is discussed.

be found in a circumstantial report of the year 1622. The priests were persecuted and exiled, yet their numbers increased. The first jesuit arrived in the Netherlands in the year 1592; in the year 1622 there were twenty-two members of the order in that country. The colleges of Cologne and Louvaine continually sent forth new labourers, and in the year 1622, two hundred and twenty secular priests were employed in the provinces, and were quite insufficient for the wants of the population. According to this report. the number of catholics in the diocese of Utrecht amounted to 150,000; in that of Haarlem, to which Amsterdam belonged, to 100,000 souls. Leuwarden contained 15,000, Gröningen 20,000, and Deventer 60,000 catholics. The vicar apostolic who was then sent by the see of Rome to Deventer, confirmed 12,000 persons in three cities and a few villages. The numbers in the report may be greatly exaggerated, but it is evident that this pre-eminently protestant country still contained catholic elements of extraordinary strength. Even the bishoprics which Philip II. had tried to introduce, were constantly recognised by the catholics\*. It was probably this state of things which excited in the Spaniards their intense eagerness to renew the war.

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\* *Compendium status in quo nunc est religio catholica in Holandia et confœderatis Belgii provinciis, 1622, 2 Decemb.* "his non obstantibus—laus Deo—quotidie crescit catholicorum numerus, præsertim accedente dissensione hæreticorum inter se."

## § 7. STATE OF CATHOLICISM IN ENGLAND.

Meanwhile more peaceful prospects had opened upon England. The son of Mary Stuart was heir to the united crowns of Great Britain, and could now present a more determined front than ever to the catholic powers.

Even before James I. ascended the throne of England, Clement VIII. sent him word "that he prayed for him, as the son of so virtuous a mother; that he wished him all prosperity worldly and spiritual, and that he hoped still to see him a catholic." James's accession was celebrated in Rome with solemn services and processions.

He could not have dared to make any corresponding return to these advances, even had he been inclined; but he permitted Parry, his ambassador in France, to live on terms of intimacy with the nuncio Bubalis. The nuncio produced a document from the hand of the pope's nephew Aldobrandino, in which that cardinal exhorted the English catholics to obey king James as their sovereign and natural lord, and even to pray for him: to this Parry responded with an instruction of James, promising to allow peaceful catholics to live without molestation\*.

In fact, in the north of England people began openly to attend mass again; the puritans complained that within a short time fifty thousand

\* Breve relatione di quanto si è trattato tra S. S<sup>ta</sup> ed il re d' Inghilterra. (MS. Rom.)

Englishmen had become proselytes to catholicism; to which James is said to have replied, "that they might go and convert the same number of Spaniards and Italians."

These appearances might perhaps lead the catholics to pitch their hopes too high: when therefore they saw that the king still adhered firmly to the protestant cause; that the old acts of parliament were again put in execution, and that new persecutions were set on foot, they fell into an irritation exasperated by disappointment; an irritation which found fearful vent in the gunpowder plot. With this ended all possibility of toleration on the part of the king. The severest laws were enacted and enforced; domiciliary visits, imprisonment, and fines were inflicted; the priests, and above all the jesuits, were banished and persecuted; and it was thought necessary to restrain such daring enemies by the extremest severity.

But in private conversation the king's expressions were very moderate. He said plainly to a prince of the house of Lorraine, who once visited him with the privy of Paul V., that after all there was but little difference between the two confessions;—that he, to be sure, thought his own the best, and had embraced it from conviction, and not for reasons of state; but that he liked to hear the opinions of others; and as the convocation of a council was attended with insuperable difficulties, he wished there could be an assembly of learned men, who might try to effect a reconciliation; that if the pope would set one step in ad-

vance, he was ready to set four to meet him ; that he too acknowledged the authority of the fathers ; that he esteemed Augustine above Luther, and St. Bernard more than Calvin ; nay, that he saw in the church of Rome, even in her actual state, the true church, the mother of all others, only that she stood in need of purification : he admitted, what indeed he would not say to a nuncio, but might confess to a friend and cousin, that the pope was the head of the church, the supreme bishop\* : it was, he said, doing him great injustice to call him a heretic or a schismatic ; a heretic he was not, for he believed what the pope believed, only the pope admitted some few articles of faith more than he ; neither was he a schismatic, for he regarded the pope as head of the church.

With such opinions, and a consequent antipathy to the puritanical side of protestantism, it would unquestionably have been more agreeable to the king to come to a peaceable understanding with the catholics, than to keep them down by means of force and with incessant peril to himself.

In England they were still numerous and powerful. In spite of dreadful defeats and losses, or rather in consequence of them, Ireland was in incessant fermentation, and the king had the greatest

\* “ Che riconosce la chiesa Romana etiandio quella d’adesso per la vera chiesa e madre di tutte, ma ch’ella aveva bisogno d’esser purgata, e di più ch’egli sapeva che V. S<sup>ua</sup> è capo di essa chiesa e primo vescovo.”—expressions which, though in other quarters attributed to this prince, can in no way be reconciled with the principle of the church of England. (*Relatione del S<sup>r</sup> di Breval al papa.*)



possible interest in putting an end to this state of discontent and insubordination\*.

It must be observed, that English and Irish catholics attached themselves to Spain. The Spanish ambassadors in London, men of great address, prudence, and at the same time magnificence, had gathered around them a vast following ; their chapel was always filled, and the solemnities of the holy week were celebrated there with great pomp. Their house was the resort of their brethren in the faith, and, as a Venetian said, they were regarded almost in the light of legates of the apostolic see.

To this cause, I think, may safely be attributed king James's project of marrying his heir to a Spanish princess. He thus hoped to attach the catholics, and to win over the favour with which they regarded the house of Spain to his own. His foreign relations furnished an additional motive ; since it might reasonably be expected that the house of Austria, when so nearly connected with him, would be more friendly to his son-in-law the elector palatine.

The only question was, as to the practicability of the scheme. The difference of religion presented an obstacle which at that time it was really difficult to overcome.

There is a certain fantastic element inseparably

\* *Relatione di D. Lazzari, 1621.* He founds his opinion on the timidity of the king : "havendo io sperimentato per manifesti segni che prevale in lui più il timore che l'ira." He says moreover, "per la pratica che ho di lui (del re) lo stimo indifferente in qualsivoglia religione."

blended with the realities of the world and the common-place of life ; it finds utterance in poetry and romantic tales, which, again, re-act upon the character and conduct of the young. Whilst the negotiations which had been set on foot were delayed from day to day and from month to month, the prince of Wales, and his intimate friend and companion Buckingham, conceived the romantic thought of setting out to fetch his bride\*. The Spanish ambassador Gondemar appears to have had some share in this adventure ; at least, he told the prince that his presence would put an end to all difficulties.

What was the amazement of the English ambassador in Madrid, lord Digby, who had hitherto conducted this negotiation, when on being one day called out of his chamber to speak to two cavaliers, he beheld the son and the favourite of his sovereign ! The contracting parties now applied themselves in earnest to remove the obstacles presented by religion. It was necessary in the first place to obtain the pope's consent, and king James had displayed no repugnance to enter into direct negotiation with Paul V. for that object ; but that pope

\* Papers relative to the Spanish match, in the Hardwicke Papers, i. p. 399. They contain the correspondence between James I. and the two travellers, which excites the greatest interest in the persons concerned. James's failings appear at least those of a very humane temper. His first letter begins : " My sweat boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso."—" My sweat boys," is his common mode of address : they write, " dear dad, and gossip."

would listen to them only under the condition that the king should grant entire religious freedom to his catholic subjects. The impression made on Gregory XV., on the contrary, by the prince's adventurous journey was so powerful, that he would have been content with less extensive concessions. In a letter to the prince, he expresses his hope that "the ancient seed of christian piety, which had of old borne fruit in English kings, would once more spring up and flourish in him ; at all events, since he intended to marry a catholic lady, he could not desire to oppress the catholic church." The prince answered, that he would never use any hostile measure against the church of Rome ; on the contrary, he would try to bring it about, "that as we all," to use his words, "acknowledge one triune God and one crucified Christ, we may unite in one faith and one church\*." We see how great were the advances made by both sides. Olivarez affirmed that he had entreated the pope with the utmost earnestness to grant the dispensation ; that he had declared to him that the king could refuse the prince nothing†. The English catholics too assailed the pope with entreaties ; they said that a refusal of the dispensation would bring upon them fresh persecutions.

\* Frequently printed : I follow the copy in Clarendon and the Hardwicke Papers, apparently taken from the original.

† In the first impulse of joy, he went so far as to say, according to Buckingham's account, (20th of March,) "that if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to thy son Baby as his wench."

The points which the king was required to promise were now discussed.

Not only was the infanta with her suite to be allowed to exercise her religion in a chapel of the palace, but the early education of all the children of this marriage was to be entrusted to her; no penal law was to have any application to them, nor to interfere with their right of succession, even if they should remain catholic\*. The king promised, generally, not to trouble the private exercise of the catholic religion; not to impose upon the catholics any oath at variance with their faith; and to endeavour to obtain from parliament the repeal of all laws against the catholics.

In August 1623, king James swore to these articles, and no doubt appeared to remain of the completion of the nuptials of prince Charles.

Rejoicings took place in Spain; the court received congratulations; the ambassadors were formally apprised of the intended marriage; and the ladies and the confessor of the infanta were admonished not to let fall a word which could raise up any obstacles to it.

James admonished his son not to forget, in the joy of this fortunate event, the wrongs of his cousin, who was robbed of his inheritance, and the tears of

\* The most important stipulation, and the source of much mischief. The article runs thus: "Quod leges contra catholicos Romanos latae vel ferendae in Anglia et aliis regnis regi magnae Britanniae subjectis non attingent liberos ex hoc matrimonio oriundos, et libere jure successionis in regnis et dominiis magnae Britanniae fruuntur." (Merc. Franc. ix., Appendice ii. 18.)

his sister. The affair of the Palatinate was warmly taken up. There was a plan for drawing the imperial house and that of the Palatinate into the new alliance, viz. by marrying the son of the expelled elector to a daughter of the emperor: while Bavaria was to be conciliated by the creation of an eighth electorate. Hereupon the emperor immediately opened a negotiation with Maximilian of Bavaria, who testified no reluctance, and only stipulated that the transferred palatine electorate should remain in his possession, and the newly-created one be given as an indemnity to the palatine house. This made no important difference to the interests of the catholics, who were to enjoy religious freedom in the restored Palatinate, and would still possess a majority of votes in the electoral college\*.

Thus did the power which, in the preceding reign, had formed the bulwark of protestantism, enter into the most friendly relations with those ancient foes to whom she seemed to have sworn irreconcilable hatred—the pope and Spain. The English catholics began to receive a totally different treatment; domiciliary visits and persecutions ceased; certain oaths were no longer required; catholic chapels arose, to the great vexation of the protestants, while the puritan fanatics who de-claimed against the marriage were punished. King James doubted not that before the winter he should embrace his son, together with his youthful bride and his favourite; an event, to which he appears,

\* In Khevenhiller, x. 114.

from all his letters, to have looked forward with the most affectionate longing.

The advantages attendant on the execution of the above-named articles are sufficiently obvious ; but the alliance itself gave expectation of far other consequences, the extent of which could not be foreseen. That influence of the catholic church over the government of England, which force had never been able to obtain, seemed now likely to be acquired in the most peaceable and natural manner.

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#### § 8. MISSIONS.

At this point of our researches, while considering the brilliant triumphs of catholicism in Europe, it seems expedient to turn our eyes to those remoter regions of the globe, in which, urged on by a kindred impulse, the religion of Rome advanced with mighty strides.

Religious motives entered into the first idea which prompted the discoveries and the conquests of the Spaniards and Portuguese : these motives never ceased to accompany and to animate them, and assumed prominence and force in their newly-constituted empires both in the east and west.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the proud edifice of the catholic church completely reared in South America. There were five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred monasteries, and innumerable parish churches

and *doctrinas*\*. Magnificent cathedrals had sprung up, of which the most splendid of all was, perhaps, that of Los Angeles. The jesuits taught grammar and the liberal arts; a theological seminary was united to their college of San Ildefonso in Mexico. A complete system of theological discipline was taught in the universities of Mexico and Lima. It appears that the Americans of European extraction were distinguished for their remarkable acuteness; though, as they complain, they were too far removed from the countenance of the king's grace to be rewarded according to their merits. Meanwhile the mendicant orders, more particularly, began to diffuse christianity with regular progress over the South American continent. Conquests gave place to missions, and missions gave birth to civilization; the monks who taught the natives to read and to sing, taught them also how to sow and to reap, to plant trees and to build houses; and, of course, inspired the profoundest veneration and attachment. When the priest visited his parish he was received with ringing of bells and with music; flowers were strewn in his way, and the women held out their children to him to bless. The Indians manifested singular pleasure in the externals of devotion. They were never weary of attending mass, of singing vespers, and of waiting in the choir for the performance of the service. They had a talent for music, and took an innocent delight in decorating their churches,—an employment which ac-

\* Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias*, p. 80.

corded well with the temper of their minds, extremely susceptible to simple and fanciful impressions\*. In their dreams they beheld the joys of paradise. The queen of heaven appeared to the sick in all her glory and majesty, surrounded by youthful attendants, who brought refreshment to the fevered and fainting sufferer; or she appeared alone, and taught her worshipper a song of her crucified son, "whose head is bowed down, even as the yellow ears of corn."

Such are the characteristics of catholicism which produced so mighty an effect in these countries. The monks only complain that the bad example and the cruelty of the Spaniards corrupted the natives, and obstructed the work of conversion.

In the East Indies, as far as the Portuguese dominion extended, the progress of conversion was very similar. Goa became the grand focus of catholicism; thousands were converted yearly, and no later than 1565 it was calculated that there were three hundred thousand christians in that city and its neighbourhood, in the mountains of Cochin, and at Cape Comorin†. But the general relations of

\* Compendio y descripcion de las Indias occidentales, MS. "Tienen mucha caridad con los necesitados y en particular con los sacerdotes: que los respetan y reverencian como ministros de Christo, abraçan los mas de tal suerte las cosas de nuestra santa fe, que solo el mal exemplo que los demos es causa de que no aya entre ellos grandes santos, como lo experimente el tiempo que estuve en aquellos regnos."—The *Literæ annuæ provinciæ Paraquariæ missæ* a Nicolao Duran, Antv. 1636, are peculiarly worthy of notice, the jesuits having always kept the Spaniards at a distance from that country.

† Maffei, *Commentarius de rebus Indicis*, p. 21.



catholicism to the east were totally different from those it bore to the west. In the former, a vast, singular, and unconquered world opposed its impenetrable mass to their doctrine as well as to their arms; primeval religions, whose rites enchained the senses and the spirit, were intimately blended with the manners and the opinions of the inhabitants.

Catholicism was eminently calculated to vanquish even such a world as this.

That it was so, is the fundamental idea which lies at the root of all the efforts and proceedings of Francisco Xavier, who arrived in India in the year 1542. He traversed the country in every direction; prayed at the tomb of the apostle Thomas at Meliapur; preached to the people of Travancore from a tree; in the Moluccas taught spiritual songs, which were repeated by the boys in the market-place, and by the fishermen on the sea. Yet he was not destined to complete the work; his favourite expression was, 'Amplius, amplius!' his zeal for converting was mingled with a sort of passion for travelling; he got as far as Japan, and had formed the design to explore China, the focus and birth-place of the opinions which there encountered him, when he died\*.

It is in human nature, that his example, and even the very difficulties of his undertaking, rather allured to imitation than deterred. The early part of the seventeenth century exhibits varied and incessant activity in the east.

\* Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum* lib. xiii. et xiv.

In 1606 we find father Nobili in Madaura. He expresses his astonishment at the small progress christianity had made in so long a time; and thinks this can only be explained by the fact that the Portuguese had addressed themselves to the Parias, in consequence of which Christ was regarded as the especial God of that degraded caste. He therefore took a totally different course; and as he was persuaded that an effectual conversion must begin with the higher classes, he declared that he was of the first order of nobility, (of which he had brought the proofs) attached himself to the bramins, adopted their dress and modes of living, submitted to their penances, learned Sanscrit, and entered into their ideas\*. They had a tradition that in former times there had been four roads to truth in India, and that one had been lost. He affirmed that he had come to show them this lost but straitest way to immortality. As early as the year 1609 he had converted seventy bramins. He was cautious not to wound their prejudices; not only tolerating their distinction of castes (giving them another signification), but separating the castes in the churches; he changed the expressions in which

\* Juvencius, *Historiæ Societ. Jesu pars v. tom. ii. lib. xviii. § ix. No. 49.* “Brachmanum instituta omnia cærimoniasque cognoscit: linguam vernaculam, dictam vulgo Tamulicam, quæ latissime pertinet, addiscit: addit Baddagicam, qui principum et aulæ sermo, denique Grandonicam sive Samutcradam, quæ lingua eruditorum est, ceterum tot obsita difficultatibus, nulli ut Europæo bene cognita fuisset ad eam diem, atque inter ipsosmet Indos plurimum scire videantur qui hanc utcunque nôrint etsi aliud nihil nôrint.”

former missionaries had taught the doctrines of christianity, for more elegant and classical language. His whole conduct was so admirably adapted to its end, that he was soon surrounded by crowds of converts ; and although his method of instruction at first gave great offence and scandal at home, it seemed to be the only one fitted to advance the cause. In the year 1621, Gregory XV. expressed his approbation of it.

Not less remarkable are the labours of the missionaries at the court of the emperor Akbar about the same time.

We must remember that the ancient Mongolian Khans, the conquerors of Asia, for a long time occupied a singularly undecided position between the two religions which divided the world. We are almost tempted to think that the emperor Akbar was of a similar way of thinking. In his invitation to the jesuits he tells them, “ that he had endeavoured to understand all the religions of the earth, and that now, by the help of the fathers, whom he respected and honoured, he wished to become acquainted with the christian religion.” The first who established himself at his court was Geronimo Xavier, the nephew of Francisco, in the year 1595, at which period the insurrections of the mahommedans tended to dispose the emperor in favour of the christians. In the year 1599, Christmas-eve was celebrated with the greatest solemnity at Lahore : the holy manger was exposed to view for twenty days ; numerous catechumens, with palm-branches in their hands, went in procession

to the churches and received baptism. The emperor read with great interest a life of Christ in Persian, and caused a picture of the Virgin, copied from the Madonna del Popolo at Rome, to be brought into his palace and shown to his women. The christians inferred from these facts far more than they really warranted, but they undoubtedly contributed very greatly to their success; in the year 1610, after Akbar's death, three princes of the blood-royal solemnly received baptism. They rode to church upon white elephants and were received by father Geronimo with a flourish of trumpets\*, Christianity seemed gradually to assume a character of stability; although here also opinions and dispositions fluctuated according as the political relations of the country to Portugal were more or less amicable. In 1621 a college was founded in Agra and a station in Patna, and in the year 1624 the emperor Dschehangir gave hopes that he would become a convert.

The jesuits had at the same time penetrated into China, where they endeavoured to conciliate the skilful, scientific, and instructed population of that empire by a display of the inventions and the sciences of the west. The progress made by Ricci is to be imputed to his power of teaching mathematics, and to his learning by heart and reciting striking passages from the writings of Confucius. He gained admittance to Peking by means of a present of a striking clock to the emperor, in whose favour and estimation, however, nothing raised him so

\* Juvencius, l. 1. No. 1—23.

highly as a map which he drew, and which far surpassed any attempt of that kind by the Chinese. It is a characteristic trait of Ricci, that when the emperor ordered that ten similar maps should be drawn on silk and hung round his chamber, he seized the opportunity of rendering even these subsidiary to the cause of Christianity, and filled the margins and vacant spaces with christian symbols and maxims. Such was the general character of his teaching; he began with mathematics and finished with religion; his scientific talents and attainments secured respect to his religious doctrine. Not only did he win over his immediate disciples, but many mandarins, whose garb he had assumed, went over to him; and in the year 1605 a society of the Blessed Virgin was already established in Peking. Ricci died in 1610; worn out not only by excessive labour, but still more by the numerous visits, the long dinners, and all the other duties of Chinese society. After his death, his successors followed the advice he had given, to proceed in their work without ostentation or noise, and in this tempestuous sea to keep near the shore; they also imitated his example as to the aid to be derived from science. In the year 1610 there was an eclipse of the moon: the predictions of the native astronomers differed by a full hour from those of the jesuits; and when the latter were verified by the event, the popular respect for the fathers was greatly raised\*. Not only were they entrusted, in

\* Jouvency has dedicated the whole of his 19th book to the Chinese enterprise, and has joined, p. 561, a dissertation, "Im-

connexion with certain mandarins, their disciples, with the rectification of the astronomical tables, but the cause of christianity was thus promoted. In 1611 the first church was consecrated in Nankin; in 1616 there were christian churches in five provinces of the empire. When assailed by opposition, which not unfrequently happened, they found their best and most effectual defence lay in the production of works by their pupils, which enjoyed the approbation of the learned; they knew how to elude the threatening storm; they conformed as nearly as possible to the customs of the country, and in the year 1619 received the pope's sanction to several concessions of this kind. Accordingly, not a year passed in which they did not convert thousands, while their opponents gradually became extinct; in 1624 Adam Schall appeared, and the accurate description of two eclipses of the moon which happened in that year, and a work of Lombardo's on earthquakes, gave fresh brilliancy to the reputation they enjoyed\*.

*perii Sinici recens et uberior notitia,"* which is still worthy of perusal.

\* *Relatione della Cina dell' anno 1621.* "Lo stato presente di questa chiesa mi pare in universale molto simile ad una nave a cui e li venti e le nuvole minaccino di corto grave borasca, e per ciò li marinari ammainando le vele e calando le antenne fermino il corso, e stiano aspettando che si chiarisca il cielo e cessino li contrasti de' venti: ma bene spesso avviene che tutto il male si risolve in paura e che sgombrate le furie de' venti svanisce la tempesta contenta delle sole minaccie. Così appunto pare che sia accaduto alla nave di questa chiesa. Quattro anni fa se le levò contro una gagliarda borasca, la quale pareva che la dovesse

The course pursued by the jesuits among the warlike and divided Japanese was totally different. From the very first they took part with one of the hostile factions. In the year 1554 they had the good fortune to find themselves on the side of the conqueror, under whom, secure of his favour, they made extraordinary progress. Not later than the year 1579 the number of christians in Japan was estimated at three hundred thousand. Father Valignano, who died in 1606, a man whose advice Philip II. valued very highly on eastern affairs, founded three hundred churches and thirty jesuits' houses in Japan.

The connexion of the jesuits with Mexico and Spain, however, excited at length the jealousy of the native authorities ; fresh civil wars broke out in which they had not their former good fortune ; the party to which they had attached themselves was defeated ; and after the year 1612 they were assailed by fearful persecutions.

But they stood their ground well. Their converts courted martyrdom ; they founded a brotherhood of martyrs for the purpose of affording each other mutual encouragement under every possible suffering ; they designate those years as the “ æra martyrum.” Notwithstanding the vast increase of persecution, say their historians, new converts were

*sommergere ad un tratto : li piloti accommodandosi al tempo raccolsero le vele delle opere loro e si ritirarono alquanto, ma in modo che potevano essere trovati da chiunque voleva l'ajuto loro per aspettare donec aspiret dies et inclinentur umbræ. Sin' hora il male non è stato di altro che di timore.”*

daily added to them\*. They assert that from 1603 to 1622, 239,339 Japanese were (according to accurate calculation) converted to christianity.

In all these countries we find therefore that the jesuits maintained the same character for ability, adaptation to circumstances, and at the same time perseverance and endurance. Their progress outwent all expectation, and they succeeded in overcoming, at least to a certain extent, the resistance of those national systems of religion which are the immemorial growth of the east.

While engaged in the work of conversion, they did not neglect to provide for the union of the oriental christians with the church of Rome.

They had found even in India those primitive Nestorian churches, known under the name of the christians of St. Thomas, and as these regarded the patriarch of Babylon (at Mosul) as their chief and the pastor of the universal church, and not the pope of Rome (of whom indeed they knew nothing), preparations were soon made to bring them within the pale of the Roman church. Neither force nor persuasion was spared. In the year 1601 the chief men among them seemed to be won over, and a jesuit was appointed bishop over them. The Roman ritual was printed in Chaldaic, the errors of

\* The Lettere annue del Giappone dell' anno 1622, afford an example : " I gloriosi campioni che morirono quest' anno furon 121 : gli adulti, che per opera de' padri della compagnia a vista di così crudele persecutione hanno ricevuto il santo battesimo arrivano il numero di 2236 senza numerar quelli che per mezzo d'altri religiosi e sacerdoti Giapponesi si battezzano."



Nestorius were anathematized in a diocesan council; a jesuits' college was established in Cranganor, and the new appointment to the episcopal see in the year 1624, took place with the consent of those who had hitherto been its most obstinate opponents\*.

It is evident that the weight of the Spanish and Portuguese power in the east greatly facilitated these religious successes; its influence was also powerfully felt about the same time in Abyssinia, where all previous attempts of the kind had been unavailing. It was not till the year 1603, that the Portuguese of Fremona, by affording essential aid to the Abyssinians in a battle with the Caffres, gained greater respect for themselves and their religion. Just then father Paez appeared; a jesuit of great ability, who preached in the language of the country, and gained access to the court. The victorious sovereign wished to establish a nearer connexion with the king of Spain, mainly with the view of having an ally against his enemies in the interior; upon which Paez represented to him that his only means of accomplishing this object was to renounce his schismatical doctrines and go over to the church of Rome. His representations had the greater weight in consequence of the fidelity and courage displayed by the Portuguese in the internal wars of the country. Disputations were set on foot, in which the ignorant monks were easily defeated; Sela-Christos, the bravest man of the em-

\* Cordara, *Historia Soc. Jesu*, vi. ix. p. 535.

pire and brother of the emperor Seltan-Segued (a socinian), was converted ; countless numbers followed his example, and a connexion was soon formed with Paul V. and Philip III. As might be expected, the representatives of the established religion bestirred themselves in opposition to this change, and civil war in Abyssinia, as in Europe, assumed the garb of religion ; the Abuna and his monks being always on the side of the rebels, Sela-Christos, the Portuguese, and the converts, on the side of the emperor. Battles were fought, year after year, with changing fortune ; at length the emperor and his party were triumphant. It was a triumph at once of catholicism and of the jesuits. In the year 1621, Seltan-Segued decided the controversies which had so long existed on the two natures in Christ, in favour of the scheme of the church of Rome ; he forbade his subjects to pray for the patriarch of Alexandria, and caused catholic churches and chapels to be erected in his cities and even in his gardens\* In the year 1622, after confessing to Paez, he received the sacrament according to the catholic rite. The court of Rome had long been requested to send a Latin patriarch to Abyssinia, but hesitated to do so, so long as the disposition or the power of the emperor were doubtful ; but now, as he had overcome all his enemies, and had given unquestionable and unequalled proofs of submission and attachment, Gregory XV. appointed a Portuguese whom king Philip had recom-

\* Juvencius, p. 705. Cordara, vi. 6. p. 320. Ludolf calls the emperor Susneus.

mended,—doctor Alfonso Mendez, of the society of Jesus, to be patriarch of Ethiopia\* (19th Dec. 1622). After the arrival of Mendez, the emperor solemnly promised obedience to the pope of Rome.

Meanwhile the catholics never lost sight of the Greek christians inhabiting the Turkish empire; the popes sent mission after mission amongst them. The Roman “*professio fidei*” was introduced among the Maronites by some jesuits; in 1614 we find a Nestorian archimandrite in Rome, who abjured the doctrines of Nestorius in the name of a great number of followers. In Constantinople a jesuit mission was established, and through the influence of the French ambassador, attained to a certain stability and credit; among other triumphs, it succeeded in the year 1621, for a time at least, in procuring the removal of the patriarch Cyril Lucaris, who inclined to protestant opinions.

How boundless was the activity of which we have now taken a rapid and cursory survey! extending at once from the Alps to the Andes; sending forth its scouts and pioneers to Thibet and to Scandinavia; insinuating itself into the favour of the governments of China and of England: yet on every part of this wide arena, vigorous, entire, and indefatigable; the spirit which was at work in the centre animating, perhaps with increased vivacity and intensity, the labourers at its extremest bounds.

\* Sagripanti, *Discorso della religione dell’ Etiopia*, MS. from the *Atti Consistoriali*.

## CHAPTER III.

### CONFLICTING POLITICAL RELATIONS.— NEW TRIUMPHS OF CATHOLICISM.

1623—1628.

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**A** GROWING power is seldom, if ever, arrested in its progress solely by resistance from without ; in general, such a reverse, if not entirely caused, is at least greatly aggravated by internal divisions.

Had catholicism remained unanimous,—had it gone forward to its end with united and compacted forces,—it is not easy to see how the northern or Germanic part of Europe, which was to a considerable extent implicated in its interests, and entangled in its policy, could in the long run have held out against it.

But was it not to be expected, that at this rapid aggrandizement of catholicism, those antagonist principles which had formerly risen up against it,—which had been stifled but not extinguished, and had been incessantly smouldering at the heart of society, would burst forth anew ?

The peculiar characteristic of the state and progress of religious opinions at this epoch was, that they everywhere reposed on the basis of political

and military superiority. Missions followed in the rear of armies. Hence we find that the greatest political changes were connected with those successes of a religious party, which had also some substantive importance, and necessarily occasioned re-actions, upon which it was impossible to calculate.

Of all these changes, the most momentous unquestionably was, that the German line of the house of Austria, which hitherto, embarrassed by the troubles existing in its hereditary dominions, had taken little share in the general affairs of Europe, suddenly attained to the independence, importance, and vigour of a great European power. It was in consequence of the elevation of German Austria, that Spain, which since the time of Philip II. had remained pacific, now, animated with fresh eagerness for war, revived her former hopes and claims. The two powers had come into immediate connexion in consequence of the affair of the Grisons ; the passes of the Alps were occupied on the Italian side by Spain, on the German by Austria ; and on the summit of these mountains they appeared to pledge each other mutual faith and support in projects which embraced every part of the world.

Unquestionably, this connexion opened, on the one hand, wide and brilliant prospects for catholicism, to which both lines had devoted themselves with inviolable attachment ; but, on the other, it was pregnant with danger of internal dissension. The Spanish monarchy under Philip II. had excited universal jealousy ; the collective power of the

house, now immensely increased and consolidated by the addition of its German forces, could not fail therefore to awaken the old antipathies in greater violence than ever.

This first became apparent in Italy.

The small Italian states, which could not possibly exist self-sustained, had the most urgent need of the protection afforded by the balance of power, and at the same time the quickest sense of anything that disturbed it. Their present position, hemmed in as it were between two great powers, cut off from all external help by the occupation of the passes of the Alps, they regarded as imminently threatening. Little influenced by the advantages which this combination promised to their common faith, they turned to France, who indeed alone could help them, to entreat her to endeavour to break it. Louis XIII., who was alarmed for the continuance of his influence over Italy, readily listened to their petition, and immediately after the peace of 1622, even before his return to his capital, concluded a treaty with Savoy and Venice, in virtue of which the house of Austria was to be compelled by a union of their common forces to give up the Grisons passes and fortresses\* ;—a purpose, which though directed exclusively to a single point, might easily affect the general interests of Europe.

Of this Gregory XV. was abundantly aware ; he distinctly perceived the danger to the peace of the

\* Nani, *Storia Veneta*, p. 255.

catholic world, to the interests of religion, and hence to the renovation of the papal dignity, which was threatened from this point : with the same zeal with which he promoted missions and conversions, he now sought to prevent the breaking out of hostilities, the consequences of which were vividly before his eyes.

The authority of the papal see,—or rather the feeling of the unity of the catholic world,—had still so much of vitality and power, that both Spain and France declared themselves willing to leave the decision of this affair to the pope. Nay, he was even petitioned to take possession of the fortresses which excited so much jealous alarm, as a deposit, until the terms of agreement could be fully settled, and to garrison them with his own troops\*.

For a moment pope Gregory hesitated whether or not he should undertake this active, and doubtless costly share in distant quarrels ; but as it was obvious how important to the peace of the catholic world was his compliance with this request, he at length ordered a few companies to be raised, and sent them under the command of his brother, the duke of Fiano, to the Grisons. The Spaniards were desirous of retaining at least Riva and Chiavenna ; but even these they now delivered up to the papal troops†. Archduke Leopold of Tyrol also finally consented to cede to them all

\* Dispaccio Sillery, 28 Nov. 1622. Corsini, 13. 21 Gen. 1623, in Siri, *Memorie recondite*, tom. v. p. 435, 442. Scrittura del deposito della Valtellina, *ib.* 459.

† Siri, *Memorie recondite*, v. 519.

the districts and fortified towns, to which he did not lay claim as part of his own hereditary possessions.

In this way the danger which had created the greatest agitation in the Italian states seemed averted. The main consideration now was to make arrangements for the protection of catholic interests. To this end, it was proposed, that as the Valtelline was not to be suffered to fall again into the hands of Spain, so neither should it be allowed to return under the dominion of the Grisons ; since in the latter case the progress of catholic restoration there would, in all probability, be interrupted ; it was therefore to be attached to the three ancient Rhætian confederate states, as a fourth, with equal rights and equal independence. From the same prudent regard to the interests of the church, the pope would not entirely break up the alliance of the two Austrian lines, which appeared necessary to the prosperity of catholicism in Germany. The passages through Worms and the Valtelline were to remain open to the Spaniards ; always understood, for the passage of troops into Germany, not for their entrance into Italy\*.

Thus far had things proceeded,—not indeed absolutely concluded, but all ripe for a conclusion,—when Gregory XV. died (8th of July, 1623). He had however the satisfaction of seeing the dissensions which threatened the safety of the church, appeased, and her authority constantly increasing.

\* Art. ix. of the scheme of the convention.



In the course of these negotiations there had even been a talk of a new alliance between France and Spain, with a view to an attack on La Rochelle and Holland.

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But after the death of Gregory, these projects were far from being realized.

In the first place, the new pope, Urban VIII., did not enjoy that confidence which is inspired by the presumption, founded on experience, of perfect impartiality; in the next, the Italians were far from satisfied with the agreement entered into; but the most important point was, that in France the helm of state was now in the hands of men who revived the opposition to Spain, not in compliance with the requests of others, nor merely as allies; but of their own free will, and as the cardinal point of French policy,—Vieuville and Richelieu.

Perhaps, however, their adoption of this line of policy was less the result of choice than has generally been imagined. France, as well as the Austro-Spanish powers, was increasing and concentrating all her internal forces; the kingly power, the unity and the nationality of feeling of the country, were immeasurably enhanced by the victory over the huguenots; and as her claims rose with her strength, everything conspired to induce her to attempt a bolder policy than that she had hitherto pursued. This natural tendency as naturally called into existence its appropriate organs;

—men able and willing to carry it into effect. Richelieu was from the very first determined to resist the supremacy which the house of Austria had always asserted, and to which she had lately set up new and loftier claims; and to enter the lists with her in a struggle for ascendancy over Europe.

This resolution caused a far more perilous schism in the catholic world than any former one, since it seemed inevitably to lead to open war between the two great powers. The execution of the Roman treaty, which we have just mentioned, was now out of the question; and the endeavours of Urban VIII. to hold the French to the concessions they had made, were utterly vain. But an alliance with the catholic opposition was not enough for France. Although a cardinal of the church of Rome, Richelieu had no scruple in entering into an undisguised alliance with protestants.

His first step was to make advances to England, with a view of breaking off that Spanish marriage, which could not fail to add so greatly to the influence of the house of Austria. He was seconded in his schemes by personal circumstances;—the impatience of James I., who longed for the return of his son and of his favourite with all the yearning of an old man who thinks himself near death; and a misunderstanding between the two ministers to whom the conduct of the affair was entrusted, Olivarez and Buckingham. Here, too, the event was chiefly determined by the nature of the thing itself. The affairs of the Palatinate disclosed in-

vincible difficulties in the negotiations with Austria, Spain, Bavaria, and the Palatinate\*; while an alliance with France, considering the new line of policy which that power had adopted, rendered probable a prompt decision of the matter by an appeal to arms. As this alliance not only secured to the king of England so considerable a dower, but also a prospect of attaching the English catholics to the throne, James preferred a French princess as a wife for his son, and guaranteed to her the same religious immunities which he had promised to the Spaniards.

Warlike preparations were immediately set on foot. Richelieu conceived a plan, which for magnitude and extent surpassed all hitherto known to European policy, and of a nature completely his own. His idea was, to cripple the Austrian power at one stroke by a general and simultaneous attack.

He intended to co-operate with Savoy and Venice in hostilities against the Spanish power in Italy. Without the smallest regard to the pleasure of the pope, he marched French troops suddenly into the Grisons, and drove the papal garrisons out of the fortified towns†.

He had not only contracted an alliance with

\* It appears by a letter from the elector palatine of the 30th of October, that force alone would have brought him to accede to the propositions which were made to him.

† *Relatione di IV. Ambasciatori*, 1625: "Il papa si doleva che mai Bettune gli aveva parlato chiaro, e che delle sue parole non aveva compreso mai che si dovessero portare le armi della lega contra li suoi presidii." The usual policy of France.

England, but renewed that with Holland ; and his plan was that the Dutch should make a descent in South America, and the English on the coast of Spain. At the instigation of king James, the Turks were set in motion, and threatened an assault on Hungary. But the main point of attack was to be Germany. The king of Denmark, who had long been in a state of preparation, was at length resolved to lead into the field the forces of Denmark and Lower Germany, in the cause of his kinsman of the Palatinate. Not only did England promise him help, but Richelieu bound himself to furnish a subsidy of a million of livres for the expenses of the war\*. Thus supported by both these powers, Mansfeld was to join the king, and then to make his way into the hereditary provinces of Austria.

Thus we see that in this general assault of nations, one of the two most puissant catholic states was arrayed against the other.

There is no question that this had a direct tendency to check the progress of catholicism. Although

\* Extract from the Instruction of Blainville, in Siri, vi. 62 : " Nel fondo di Alemagna" Mansfeld was to co-operate with him (Siri, 641). Relatione di Caraffa : " (I Francesi) hanno tuttavia continuato sino al giorno d'hoggi a tener corrispondenza con li nemici di S. M<sup>ta</sup> Ces<sup>a</sup> e dar loro ajuto in gente e danari se ben con coperta, quale però non è stata tale che per molte lettere intercette e per molti altri rincontri non si siano scoperti tutti l'andamenti e corrispondenze : onde prima e doppo la rotta data dal Tilly al re di Danimarca sempre l'imperatore nel palatinato inferiore e nelli contorni d'Alsazia v'ha tenuto nervo di gente, dubitando che da quelle parti potesse venire qualche ruina." (See Appendix, No. 112.)

the French confederacy was of a political nature, yet so close was the connexion between ecclesiastical and political interests, that it could not but greatly advance the cause of protestantism. The protestants drew breath. A new champion, the king of Denmark, arose in Germany, with fresh and unimpaired strength, and sustained by the grand combination of European policy. His triumph would at once render abortive all the successes of the imperial house, and of the catholic restoration.

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But the difficulties involved in a project do not come to light till the attempt is made to put it in execution. Brilliant as were Richelieu's talents, he had rushed too precipitately into an enterprise to which all his inclinations were directed ; which rose before him, whether in full consciousness, or in dim presentiment, as the aim and purpose of his life. This enterprise was pregnant with dangers to himself.

Not only the German protestants—the adversaries of the house of Austria,—but the French—the enemies of Richelieu himself—were emboldened by these new political combinations. We learn from their own declarations, that they hoped, should the worst happen, to be reconciled to the king by the mediation of his present allies\*. Rohan set him-

\* Mémoires de Rohan, part i. p. 146 : “ espérant que s’il venoit à bout, les alliés et ligués avec le roi le porteroient plus facilement à un accommodement.”

self in motion by land, Soubise by sea. In May 1625, the huguenots were in arms all over the country.

At the same moment the cardinal was met by enemies, perhaps still more formidable, from the other side. Spite of all his leaning to France, Urban VIII. possessed too much sense of his own dignity not to be deeply wounded and irritated by the expulsion of his garrisons from the Grisons\*. He ordered troops to be raised and to march into the Milanese, for the express purpose of re-taking the lost places, with the co-operation of the Spaniards. It is very possible that these military demonstrations meant little; but the ecclesiastical influence which was involved in them was of the greatest significance. The complaints of the papal nuncio, that the most christian king was become the ally of heretical princes, found an echo in France; the jesuits proclaimed ultra-montane doctrines, and Richelieu was violently attacked by the strict adherents of the church†. He found, it is true, protection against them in the Gallican principles, and defence in the parliaments; nevertheless, he dared no longer have the pope for an enemy. The catholic principle was too completely bound up with the restored monarchy, for the car-

\* *Relazione di P. Contarini*: "S. S<sup>ta</sup> (he speaks of the first moment after the reception of the news) sommamente disgustata, stimando poco rispetto s' havesse portato alle sue insegne, del continuo e grandemente se ne quereleva." (See Appendix, No. 111.)

† *Mémoires du Cardinal Richelieu*, Petitot, 23, p. 20.

dinal to brave the impression which spiritual admonitions might make on his sovereign.

Richelieu thus saw himself assailed in the very country which he ruled ; assailed, too, by the two hostile parties at once. Whatever might be attempted against Spain in future, his present position was untenable ; he must hasten to get out of it.

And as in the attack he had shown a genius for boundless combinations, for daring enterprising designs ; so he now, in the moment of retreat, displayed that perfidious skill in making his allies mere tools, and then betraying and deserting them, which was so peculiarly and so invariably his own.

He first persuaded his new allies to support him against Soubise. He himself had no naval force. With protestant resources drawn from foreign lands, with Dutch and English ships, he overcame his protestant foes at home (September 1625). He used their mediation to force the huguenots to accept disadvantageous terms ; they doubted not, that as soon as he had got quit of these enemies, he would renew the general attack in which they were all engaged.

What then was their amazement, when, on the contrary, the news of the peace of Monzon, which was concluded between France and Spain in March 1626, was suddenly proclaimed ! A papal legate had been despatched for that purpose to both courts ; and though it does not appear that he had exercised any material influence on the terms of the

treaty, yet he at all events asserted the power and efficacy of the catholic principle. Whilst Richelieu was using the protestants for his own ends, under a show of the strictest confidence, he had with still greater zeal employed his negotiations with Spain for their destruction. Concerning the Valtelline, he agreed with Olivarez that it should return under the government of the Grisons ; but should have an independent power of appointing to its own offices, and an uncontrolled liberty of catholic worship\*. The great catholic powers, which appeared on the point of engaging in mortal combat, in a moment stood re-united.

This event was partly brought about by the misunderstandings which had arisen in the course of the discussion of the treaty of marriage between France and England, and of their mutual engagements.

All the hostile measures set on foot against Spain were now necessarily brought to a stand.

The Italian princes were compelled, however reluctantly, to submit to what was unalterable ; Savoy concluded a truce with Genoa ; Venice esteemed herself fortunate that she had not fallen into the power of Milan, and disbanded her troops. It was asserted that the vacillating behaviour of the French prevented the raising of the siege of Breda in 1625, so that the loss of that important fortress to the Spaniards was attributed to them.

\* Du Mont, v. 2. p. 487, § 2 : “ Qu’ils ne puissent avoir par ci-après autre religion que la catholique . . . . § 3. qu’ils puissent élire par élection entre eux leurs juges, gouverneurs et autres magistrats tous catholiques :” certain limitations then follow.



But the greatest and most decisive reverse occurred in Germany.

The forces of Lower Germany had rallied round the king of Denmark, under the shield, as it was believed, of the universal alliance against Spain. Mansfeld advanced on the Elbe, while the emperor had redoubled his efforts to meet him, knowing how all-important were the results of the impending conflict.

When the armies met, the alliance no longer existed; the French subsidies were not paid; the English succours arrived too late; the imperial troops were more disciplined and warlike than their adversaries; it followed that the king of Denmark lost the battle of Lutter, and was compelled to fall back upon his own country; and that Mansfeld was driven as a fugitive into those Austrian provinces, which he had hoped to traverse as a conqueror and restorer.

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The effects of this event were of necessity as manifold as its causes.

In the first place, as regarding the imperial dominions. These may be described in a word. The last movement set on foot there in the cause of protestantism—in the hope of the general combination we alluded to—was crushed; and the nobles, who had hitherto escaped vexation, were now forced into conversion. On St. Ignatius' day, 1627, the emperor proclaimed, that after the lapse of six months, he would tolerate no one, not even of the

degree of lord or knight, in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia, who did not agree with himself and with the apostolical church in the only true faith \*. Similar edicts were published in Upper Austria, and in the year 1628, in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, and after some time, in Lower Austria also. It was useless to entreat even for respite ; the nuncio Caraffa represented that such entreaties were to be ascribed only to the hope of a general change. From that time these countries once more became thoroughly catholic. What resistance had the nobility opposed to the house of Austria eighty years before ! Now, the sovereign hereditary powers rose, orthodox, victorious, and uncontrolled, above every obstacle.

And still more extensive were the effects of the recent victory in the rest of Germany. Lower Saxony was completely subdued ; the imperial troops had penetrated to the Cattegat ; they had possession of Brandenburg and Pomerania ; Mecklenburg was in the hands of the imperial general ; all these chief seats of protestantism were in the power of a catholic army.

It became immediately evident how the catholic party intended to profit by this state of things. A prince of the imperial house was appointed bishop

\* Caraffa, Relatione MS. “ Havendo il S<sup>r</sup> cardinale ed io messo in consideratione a S. M<sup>ta</sup>, che come non si riformassero i baroni e nobili eretici, si poteva poco o nulla sperare della conversione delli loro sudditi e per conseguenza havriano potuto ancora infettare pian piano gli altri, piacque a S. M<sup>ta</sup> di aggiungere al S<sup>r</sup> C<sup>le</sup> ed agli altri commissarj autorità di riformare anche li nobili.”

of Halberstadt; and the pope, in virtue of his apostolical power, nominated him also archbishop of Magdeburg. There was no question, that if a catholic archducal government could succeed in planting itself there, it would urge on the restoration of catholicism throughout the see with the zeal and rigour of the other ecclesiastical princes.

Meanwhile the anti-reformation proceeded with fresh ardour in Upper Germany. Caraffa's catalogue of proclamations, issued from the imperial chancery in the course of these years, is most curious; containing numerous admonitions, decrees, decisions, commands,—all in favour of catholicism\*. The young count of Nassau-Siegen, the younger counts palatine of Neuburg, and the grand master of the Teutonic order, undertook new reformatations; in the Upper Palatinate even the nobility was forced into catholicism.

The old legal proceedings instituted by spiritual lords against the temporal estates for the recovery of confiscated church property now assumed a different character from their former one. Würtemberg was thrown into a state of the greatest alarm. All the old complainants, the bishops of Constance and Augsburg, the abbots of Mönchsreith and Kaisersheim, prosecuted their claims against the ducal houses, whose very existence was endangered†.

\* Brevis enumeratio aliquorum negotiorum quæ — — in puncto reformationis in cancellaria imperii tractata sunt ab anno 1620 ad annum 1629, in the Appendix to the *Germania sacra restaurata*, p. 34.

† Sattler, *Geschichte von Würtemberg unter den Herzogen*, Vol. vi. p. 226.

The bishops in every case gained their cause against the cities ; the bishop of Eichstadt against Nürnberg, the chapter of Strasburg against the city of Strasburg ; while Schwäbisch-Hall, Memmingen, Ulm, Lindau, and many other cities, were compelled to restore to the catholics the churches they had taken from them.

If on every hand the protestants appealed to the letter of the treaty of Augsburg, they had a much stronger interest in a more general application of its principles, as they were now understood\*.

“ After the battle of Lutter,” says Caraffa, “ the emperor appeared to wake as from a long sleep : freed from a great fear which had enthralled him and his predecessors, he conceived the project of restoring all Germany to the form marked out by the terms of the peace of Augsburg.” Not only Magdeburg and Halberstadt, but Bremen, Verden, Minden, Camin, Havelberg, Schwerin, and almost all the North German ecclesiastical endowments, were restored to catholicism. This had ever been the distant aim upon which the pope and the jesuits, in the most brilliant moments of prosperity, had fixed their eyes. For this very reason it was matter of some anxiety to the emperor. “ He was doubtful,” says Caraffa, “ not of the justice of the measure, but of the possibility of its execution.” But the zeal of the jesuits, especially of his confessor Lamormain ; the favourable

\* Senkenberg, Fortsetzung der Häberlinschen Reichsgeschichte, vol. xxv. p. 633.

opinions of the four catholic electors ; the unwearied solicitations of the papal nuncio, who himself informs us that it cost him the labour of a month to prevail, at length overcame all scruples. As early as August 1628, the edict of restitution was framed in the same form in which it afterwards appeared\*. Before it was published, it was once more submitted to the consideration of the catholic electors.

But a more extensive plan was connected with this ; the catholics indulged the hope of winning over the lutheran princes by measures of conciliation. This was not to be attempted by theologians, but by the emperor, or by some of the catholic princes of the empire. The arguments which they meant to urge were, that the conception entertained of catholicism in North Germany was erroneous ; that the deviation of the unaltered Augsburg confession from the catholic creed was very slight ; they hoped to propitiate the elector of Saxony by leaving him the patronage of the three great chapters of his dominions†: they did not even despair of exciting

\* That this was the epoch of the drawing up of the edict, appears from Caraffa, *Commentar. de Germ. sacra restaurata*, p. 350. He remarks, that the edict was drawn up in 1628, and published in 1629 : he then proceeds to say, “ *Annu it ipse Deus, dum post paucos ab ipsa deliberatione dies Cæsarem insigni victoria remuneratus est.*” He speaks of the victory of Wolgast, obtained on the 22nd of August.

† As early as 1624 hopes were nourished in Rome of the conversion of this prince. *Istruttione a Mons<sup>r</sup> Caraffa*. “ *Venne ancora qualche novella della sperata riunione con la chiesa cattolica del sig<sup>r</sup> duca di Sassonia, ma ella svanì ben presto : con tutto ciò il vederlo non infenso a’ cattolici e nemicissimo de’ Calvinisti ed amicissimo del Magontino e convenuto nell’ eletto-*

the hatred of the lutherans against calvinism, which might then be made subservient to a complete re-establishment of catholicism. This idea was eagerly embraced at Rome, and worked out into a feasible project. Urban VIII. had not the slightest intention of resting satisfied with the articles of the peace of Augsburg, which had never been sanctioned by a pope\*. Nothing less than a complete restitution of all church property,—nothing less than a complete gathering together of all protestants within the fold of the church, would satisfy him.

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But Urban, intoxicated by his present prosperity, aspired to a yet more daring project,—an attack upon England. This plan from time to time reappeared, by a sort of necessity, in the grand catholic schemes. The pope now hoped to avail himself of the renewed good understanding between England and France for that purpose†.

He first represented to the French ambassador, how offensive it was to France, that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the

rato di Baviera ci fa sperare bene: laonde non sarà inutile che S. S.<sup>a</sup> tenga proposito col detto Magontino di questo desiderato acquisto.”

\* “A cui,” says the pope of the treaty of Passau, in a letter to the emperor, “non haveva giammai assentito la sede apostolica.”

† In Siri, *Memorie*, vi, 257, some account, though very imperfect, is given of this affair. That given in the *Mémoires de Richelieu*, xxiii. 283, is merely partial. The statement in Nicoletti, of which we here make use, is much more circumstantial and authentic. (Concerning Nicoletti's work see App. No. 120.)

marriage. Either Louis XIII. ought to compel the English to fulfil their engagements, or to wrest the crown from a prince who showed himself, as a heretic before God, and a violator of his word before men, unworthy to wear it\*.

He next addressed himself to the Spanish ambassador Oñate. The pope said that, were it merely from his duty as a knight, Philip IV. was bound to succour the queen of England, his near kinswoman, who was now suffering oppression on account of her religion.

As soon as the pope perceived that he might indulge any hope of a favourable result, he committed the negotiation to Spada, the nuncio at Paris. Among the influential men of France, cardinal Berulle, who had conducted the negotiations concerning the marriage, embraced this idea with the greatest eagerness. He calculated how the English trading vessels might be captured on the French coasts, and the English fleets burnt in their own harbours. Olivarez adopted the plan, and took immediate measures for its execution. Former perfidies of France might indeed have made him

\* According to Nicoletti, the pope says, “ Essere il re di Francia offeso nello stato pel fomento che l’Inghilterra dava agli Ugonotti ribelli: nella vita, rispetto agli incitamenti e fellonia di Sciales, il quale haveva indotto il duca di Orleans a macchinare contro S. M<sup>ta</sup>, per lo cui delitto fu poscia fatto morire: nella riputazione, rispetto a tanti mancamenti di promesse: e finalmente nel proprio sangue, rispetto agli strapazzi fatti alla regina sua sorella: ma quello che voleva dir tutto, nell’anima, insidiando l’Inglese alla salute di quella della regina ed insieme a quella del christianissimo stesso e di tutti coloro che pur troppo ebbero voglia di fare quello infelice matrimonio.”

pause and doubt, and another great statesman, cardinal Bedmar, opposed it on that ground ; but the idea was too grand and comprehensive to be rejected by Olivarez, who in all things loved the dazzling and magnificent.

The negotiation was carried on with the utmost secrecy ; even the French ambassador in Rome, to whom the first disclosures had been made, learned nothing of its further progress. The articles of the treaty were drawn up by Richelieu, corrected by Olivarez, and adopted, with his amendments, by Richelieu. On the 20th April, 1627, they were ratified. The French engaged immediately to begin their armament, and to put their ports in a state of defence. The Spaniards were ready that same year to commence the attack, and it was agreed that the French should come to their aid with all their forces in the following spring\*.

It does not appear very clearly from our accounts, how Spain and France intended to divide the spoil ;

\* Lettere del nunzio, 9 Aprile, 1627 : “ Tornò a Parigi il prefato corriere di Spagna con avvisi che il re cattolico contentavasi di muoversi il primo, come veniva desiderato da Francesi, purchè da questi si concedessero unitamente le due offerte altre volte alternativamente proposte, cioè che il christianissimo si obligasse di muoversi nel mese di maggio o di giugno dell' anno seguente e che presentemente accomodasse l'armata cattolica di alcune galere ed altri legni. Portò anche nuova il medesimo corriere che il conte duca haveva in Ispagna staccata la pratica e dato ordine che se ne staccasse una simile in Fiandra col re d'Inghilterra il quale offriva al cattolico sospensione d'armi per tre anni o al'ro più lungo tempo tanto a nome del re di Danimarca quanto degli Olandesi.”



but thus much is evident, that even in this matter the pope was not forgotten. Berulle disclosed to the nuncio in the profoundest secrecy, that if they were successful, Ireland was to fall to the share of the holy see ; in which case the pope would probably govern it by a viceroy. The nuncio received this communication with extreme satisfaction ; he however recommended his holiness not to allow the least rumour of it to get wind ; lest it should appear as if their schemes for the advancement of religion were in any degree mixed with worldly considerations.

The interests of Germany and Italy were also kept in view.

It seemed yet possible to destroy the superiority of the naval power of England and Holland by means of a general combination. The idea was suggested of forming an armed company, under the protection of which a direct communication between the Baltic, Flanders, the French coast, Spain and Italy might be maintained, without the participation of the two maritime powers. The emperor even made proposals to that effect to the Hans towns ; and the Infanta at Brussels wished that a port of the Baltic might be ceded to the Spaniards\*. Negotiations were also set on foot with the grand-duke of Tuscany, to the end that the Spanish and Portuguese trade might pass through Leghorn†.

\* Pope Urban says this in a letter of instruction to Ginetti, in *Siri, Mercurio*, ii. 984.

† *Scrittura sopra la compagnia militante*, MS. in the *Archivio Mediceo*, contains a discussion of the practicability of this plan :

Things did not indeed go the length proposed. In consequence of the intricacy of the relations, events took a far different turn, yet one which eventually led to a result extremely favourable to the cause of catholicism.

While the catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England, it fell out that they themselves were surprised by an attack from England.

In July 1627, Buckingham appeared off the coast of France with a stately fleet; he landed in the isle of Rhé, and occupied it all except the citadel of St. Martin, to which he immediately laid siege, and called upon the huguenots to make a fresh effort in defence of their liberties and their religious independence, which were daily more imminently threatened.

The English historians usually attribute this expedition to a romantic passion of Buckingham for Anne of Austria. Whether he really entertained any such passion or not, a very different, but doubtless a more substantial, ground of his enterprise is to be found in the grand course of events. Was Buckingham to await in England the projected attack? It was doubtless better to anticipate it, and to carry the war into France\*. A more favourable

*“ Si propone che i popoli delle città anseatliche entreranno nella compagnia militante per farne piacere all' imperatore e che i Toscani non abbino a ricusare come chiamati da sì gran monarchi.”*

\* We might ask whether Buckingham had not come to the knowledge of this secret design: it is at any rate highly probable, considering how very seldom a secret is kept so entirely,

moment could not be found : Louis XIII. was dangerously ill, and Richelieu involved in a struggle with powerful factions. After some delay, the huguenots actually took up arms anew, and their valiant and veteran leaders appeared once more in the field.

Had Buckingham followed up the war with more energy and been better supported, he must have succeeded ; but king Charles I. admits in all his letters that this was not the case. Things were so conducted that the English were soon no match for cardinal Richelieu, whose genius unfolded its resources with redoubled vigour in moments of difficulty, and who had never shown himself more resolute, firm, and indefatigable, than in the present exigency. Buckingham saved himself by a retreat. His enterprise, which might have brought the French government into extraordinary peril, had in fact no other consequence than to let loose the whole power of the country, wielded by the cardinal, with new violence on the huguenots.

The focus of the huguenot force was unquestionably La Rochelle. Years before, when Richelieu

that some portion does not transpire. We certainly know that it immediately came to the ears of the Venetian ambassador, Zorzo Zorzi, who arrived in France at the time those arrangements were in course of conclusion. “ Si aggiungeva che le due corone tenevano insieme machinatione e trattati di assalire con pari forze e dispositioni l'isola d'Inghilterra.” It seems very improbable that the affair should not have been known in England ; the Venetians were on the best understanding with England, and had even fallen under the suspicion of having advised the expedition against the isle of Rhé. (Rel. di Francia, 1628.)

resided at his see of Luçon in that neighbourhood, he had meditated on the possibility of conquering that place; he now saw himself called upon to conduct such an undertaking, and determined to execute it, cost what it would.

It happened most strangely, that nothing contributed so much to his success as the fanaticism of an English puritan.

Buckingham had at last prepared to relieve La Rochelle; his honour was engaged; his position in England and the world depended upon this enterprise, and doubtless he would have strained every nerve to accomplish it: this was the moment chosen by a fanatic, goaded by revenge and inflamed by mistaken zeal for religion, to assassinate him.

In great conjunctures, it is necessary that powerful men should make a public undertaking their own personal affair. The siege of La Rochelle was a duel between the two ministers. Richelieu was now the survivor. There was no one in England to occupy Buckingham's place, no one to adopt the defence of his honour; the English fleet appeared in the roads, but struck no decisive blow. It was said that Richelieu knew that this would be the case. He persevered with unshaken firmness, and in October 1628, La Rochelle surrendered.

After the principal fortress had fallen, the neighbouring places despaired of being able to hold out—their only solicitude was to make tolerable terms\*.

\* Zorzo Zorzi, *Relatione di Francia*, 1629: "L'acquisto di Rocella ultimato sugli occhi dell'armata Inglese, che professava

Thus, out of all these political complexities, which at first appeared favourable to the protestants, sprang in the end decisive victories and enormous advances on the side of catholicism. The north-east of Germany and the south-west of France, which had so long resisted, were both subdued. Nothing seemed now to be necessary but to subject the conquered foe for ever by laws and by institutions of permanent influence.

The assistance which Denmark had afforded to the Germans, and England to the French, proved injurious rather than useful; they had brought upon them a resistless enemy; and these powers were now themselves endangered, or even attacked. The imperial troops penetrated as far as Jutland, and negotiations were actively renewed between France and Spain, with a view to the projected combined attack upon England (A. D. 1628).

di sciogliere l'assedio et introdurvi il soccorso, l'impresa contro Roano, capo et anima di questa fattione, i progressi contra gli Ugonotti nella Linguadocca colla ricupératione di ben 50 piazze hanno sgomentato i cuori e spozzato la fortuna di quel partito, che perdute le forze interne e mancategli le intelligenze straniere si è intieramente rimesso alla volontà e clemenza del re." He notices that the Spaniards came certainly at a late hour, and then but with fourteen vessels, but that still they did come to take part in the siege of La Rochelle. He ascribes their accession to the "certezza del fine," and to the desire "participar agli onori."

## CHAPTER IV.

### MANTUAN WAR—THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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#### REVOLUTION IN THE STATE OF THINGS.

**A**T the first glance, the course of human events, the march of the human mind in any direction it has once taken, present an aspect of undeviating progression.

But on a nearer observation, we not unfrequently perceive that the fundamental circumstance which determines the whole progress of things, is but slight and feeble ;—often little more than personal sympathy or antipathy, which it would not be difficult to disturb.

If we inquire what were the main causes of the recent amazing successes of the catholic restoration, we find that they were not so much the armies of Tilly and Wallenstein, or the military superiority of Richelieu over the huguenots, as the renewed alliance between France and Spain, without which neither nation would have been able to accomplish anything of moment.

From the year 1626 protestantism no longer made any independent resistance, and was only emboldened to attempt it again by the disunion of

the catholic powers ; their reconciliation therefore caused its downfall.

But it required no extraordinary sagacity to perceive how slight a cause would suffice to disturb their union.

Within the pale of catholicism even, two distinct and opposite impulses had arisen by an equal and inevitable necessity ;—the one religious, the other political.

The former demanded union, propagation of the faith, and disregard of all other considerations ; the latter incessantly stimulated the rivalry of the great powers for precedence in dignity and authority. It could not be said that the balance of power in Europe had been disturbed by the course of events. The balance of power in those times depended on the hostile interests of France and Austrian-Spain, and recent occurrences had greatly increased the strength of France and had placed her more nearly on an equality with her rival.

But nations are excited to action no less by the anticipation of future dangers, than by the pressure of present evils ; and it now seemed as if the natural course of things was pregnant with general insecurity and confusion.

The north of Germany, the ancient seat of protestantism, was overrun by Wallenstein's troops ; and this opened the possibility of restoring the imperial sovereignty over the whole of Germany, (which, with the exception of a short period in the life of Charles V., had for centuries been a mere shadow,) to real power and substantial

importance. If the catholic restoration went on in the way it had begun, this result was inevitable.

The king of France, on the other hand, had no equivalent to expect ;—when once he had subdued the huguenots, he had nothing more to gain. But the Italians had the greatest cause for anxiety ; the renovation of a powerful imperial government which had such manifold claims in Italy, and was so immediately connected with the hated power of Spain, was in their eyes perilous and insupportable.

The question once more arose, whether the exertions in the cause of catholicism would be continued without regard to this state of things, and would again carry all before them ? or whether political considerations would preponderate, and would put a stop to these exertions ?

Whilst the torrent of the catholic restoration swept with full force over France and Germany, an event occurred in Italy, the result of which was to decide this question.

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### § I. MANTUAN SUCCESSION.

At the close of the year 1627, died Vincenzo II., duke of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga, without issue. His nearest agnate was Carlo Gonzaga, Duc de Nevers.

The succession was in itself subject to no difficulties, since no doubt existed as to the rights of



the agnate. But it involved a political change of great importance.

Charles de Nevers was born in France, and was of course regarded as a Frenchman; and it was thought that the Spaniards would not suffer a Frenchman to acquire power in the north of Italy, which they had always striven with especial jealousy to guard from all French influence.

If, after the lapse of so many ages, we endeavour to obtain an accurate understanding of this affair, we find that neither the court of Spain nor that of Austria had at first any thought of excluding him from the succession. He was related to the imperial house, since the empress was a Mantuan princess, and always warmly attached to his interests. "At first," says Khevenhiller, who was employed in Mantuan affairs, "nothing hostile to his interests was required of him; on the contrary, they deliberated how to conciliate his devotion to the imperial house\*." Olivarez, too, expressly affirms the same thing; he relates that when the news arrived of the dangerous illness of Don Vincenzo, it was determined that a courier should be immediately despatched to the duke de Nevers, to offer him the protection of Spain in a pacific occupation of Mantua and Montferrat†. It is indeed possible, that

\* *Annales Ferdinandei*, xi. p. 30.

† Francesco degli Albizi, *negotiato di Mons<sup>r</sup> Cesare Monte*: "S. M<sup>a</sup>," says Olivarez, "in sentire la grave indispositione del duca Vincenzo ordinò che si dispacciasse corriere in Francia al medesimo Nivers promettendogli la protettione sua acciò egli potesse pacificamente ottenere il possesso di Mantova e del Mon-

conditions would have been imposed on him, and guarantees demanded, but there was no thought of depriving him of his rights.

The mode in which this natural course of things was arrested, is very remarkable.

The Italians did not give the Spaniards credit for so much justice as would have been evinced by this line of conduct. They had never believed all the former assurances of Spain, that she would respect Gonzaga's rights and make no resistance to his succession\*. The Spanish governors in Italy had brought upon themselves the suspicion of grasping at boundless power, even by unjust and unlawful means; nor were people now to be persuaded that they would not try to raise some member of the house of Gonzaga more devoted to their interests, to the dukedom of Mantua.

We will, however, admit that the wish of the Italians to see a prince naturally allied to France, and independent of Spain, on the throne of Mantua, had a great deal to do with this opinion. They would not believe that Spain would relinquish a thing which would have been welcome to them-

*ferrato: ma appena consegnati gli ordini, si era con altro corriere venuto d'Italia intesa la morte di Vincenzo, il matrimonio di Retel senza participatione del re," etc.*

\* "Nè si deve dar credenza," says Mulla, the Venetian ambassador at Mantua in 1615, "a quello che si è lasciato intender più volte il marchese di Inoiosa, già governator di Milano, che Spagnoli non porterebbono, quando venisse il caso, mai altri allo stato di Mantua che il duca di Nivers:"—why not however? We have only the fact; the governor affirms it, the Italians do not believe it; nevertheless, there is no doubt about the matter.

selves, precisely in proportion as it was injurious to Spanish interests. They persuaded the rightful heir to think as they did, and he accordingly deemed it best to enter upon possession in whatever way he could.

The political was now like the animal body. The internal disease only waited for some occasion—for some wounded part—to break out.

Even before the decease of Vincenzo, the young Gonzaga Nevers, duc de Rethel arrived in the profoundest secrecy in Mantua, where a Mantuan minister, named Striggio, attached to the anti-Spanish party, had prepared everything for his reception. The old duke made no difficulty of acknowledging the rights of his cousin. There was still existing a female descendant of the direct and native line,—grand-daughter of Philip II. of Spain by his youngest daughter, who had married into the house of Savoy,—and it appeared most important that the young duke should marry her\*. Accidental circumstances retarded their union, and it was not till after the death of Vincenzo that the young princess was fetched by night from the convent in which she had been educated, and conducted to the palace, where the marriage was immediately solemnized. Not till then was the death of the prince made public, and Rethel was saluted as duke of Mantua, and received the homage of his subjects. An envoy from Milan was kept at a

\* Nani, *Storia Veneta*, 1, 7, p. 350, and Siri, *Memorie recondite*, vi. 309, both state this fact; the latter takes it from a letter of Sabran to the French court.

distance till all was completed, and then,—not without a sort of mockery,—made acquainted with the whole transaction.

The news of the marriage and accession of the young duke reached Vienna and Madrid simultaneously with that of Vincenzo's death.

It must be acknowledged that it was well calculated to irritate and incense such puissant princes, who delighted to assume a character of sacred majesty. Their near kinswoman had been married without their consent, or even knowledge,—nay, with a kind of force; and possession taken of a considerable fief without the smallest deference for the feudal lords!

The measures taken by the two courts were however different.

Olivarez, proud as a Spaniard, prouder as minister of so mighty a king, and filled with the most arrogant sense of his own importance, was little disposed to make any advances to the duke; he determined, if he could do no more, at least, to use his own expression, to mortify him\*. His demeanour was indeed openly hostile; nor could the important city of Montferrat, regarded as the outwork of Milan, be entrusted to him after such

\* Nicoletti, Vita di papa Urbano, from a despatch of the nuncio Pamfilio: “Dichiaravasi il conte duca che per lo meno voleva mortificare il duca di Nivers per lo poco rispetto portato al re nella conclusioné del matrimonio senza parteciparlo: ma a qual segno potesse giungere la mortificatione, non poteva il nuntio farne congettura, e tanto più che le ragioni che avevano mosso il papa a concedere la dispensa, erano acerbamente impugnate dal medesimo conte duca.”

evidence of his dispositions. The duke of Guastalla laid claim to Mantua; the duke of Savoy to Montferrat, and the Spaniards now entered into an alliance with both these princes: both parties took up arms; the duke of Savoy marched upon Montferrat from the one side, don Gonzalez de Corduba, governor of Milan, from the other. The French had already retreated to Casale, which don Gonzalez now hastened to besiege. He was confident of speedily reducing it,—the more so as he reckoned on co-operation within.

The emperor acted with less precipitation. He was persuaded, he said, that God would defend him, since he trod the paths of justice. He disapproved the proceedings of the Spaniards, and caused his disapprobation to be formally notified to don Gonzalez. On the other hand, he was determined to exercise his functions as supreme judge without the smallest reserve. He uttered sentence of sequestration against Mantua, till he should have decided to which of the several pretenders the succession belonged. As the new duke of Mantua, who had now arrived in person, would not submit, the severest mandates were issued against him\*. But

\* The views of the imperial court may be gathered from the report of Pallotta, 10th of June, 1628, an extract of which is given by Nicoletti: “ Il nunzio ogni dì più accorgevasi, che era malissima l'impressione contro il duca di Nivers, che avesse disprezzato il re di Spagna e molto più l'imperatore conchiudendo matrimonio senza sua partecipazione col possesso dello stato senza investitura, anzi senza indulto imperiale, che fosse nemico della casa d'Austria, che avesse intelligenza e disegno co' Francesi di dare loro mano nell' invasione dello stato di Mi.

whatever might be the difference in the origin and spirit of these measures, they conspired to produce the same effect. Nevers was not less formidably menaced by the legal claims of the German line of the house of Austria, than by the open hostilities of the Spanish; in thinking to elude the danger, he had drawn it down upon his head.

At first his prospects were very bad. Some of the cities of Italy, it is true, regarded his cause as their own, and left no means untried to keep him steady to his determination of resistance; but they had not strength to give him any effectual succour.

Richelieu had also promised that he would not suffer him to fall if he would only hold out till France could come to his aid. But the question was, when that would be.

The situation of Mantua was rendered much more critical by the siege of La Rochelle, before the fall of which Richelieu could not move a step. He did not dare again to engage in hostilities with Spain, so long as they might give rise to another dangerous insurrection of the huguenots.

But his previous experience also compelled him to attend to other considerations. On no account

lano; e che non di meno S. M<sup>ta</sup> Ces<sup>a</sup> havesse grandissima inclinatione alla pace, e con questo fine havesse fatto il decreto del sequestro per levare l'armi dalle mani di Spagnuoli e di Savojardi stanti le ragioni che pretendevano Guastalla, Savoia, Lorena e Spagna negli stati di Mantova e Monferrato: che dapoi il duca havesse di nuovo offeso l'imperatore col disprezzo de' commissarj non dando loro la mano dritta e non gli ammettendo in Mantova e sopra tutto col appellazione e protesta che l'imperatore fosse caduto dalla ragione e superiorità di detti feudi."

dared he quarrel with the rigid catholic party in his own country. He dared not venture to break with the pope, nor even to adopt a line of policy displeasing to him.

Here too the inclinations of the pope were once more of the last importance. His position, and the nature of his office, required him to use every effort for the maintenance of the peace of the catholic world ; as an Italian prince he had an incontestable influence on his neighbours, while the measures, even of France, must, as we have seen, be determined by those he might think fit to pursue. Every thing depended upon whether he would avert the outbreak of a quarrel, or would himself become a party to it.

In the former political involvements, Urban VIII. had found his line of policy already marked out,—his course prescribed. On this occasion his own character and sentiments first came to view more completely, and at the same time with more authoritative influence on the affairs of the world.

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## § 2. URBAN VIII.

Among the foreigners who acquired considerable wealth by the commerce of Ancona, during the prosperity it enjoyed in the 16th century, the Florentine house of Barberini distinguished itself by capacity for and success in business. A scion of

this house, Maffeo, born in the year 1568, at Florence, was taken, after the early death of his father, to Rome, where an uncle of his had raised himself to a certain station in the curia. Maffeo also entered upon the same career ; in which he was not only supported by the opulence of his family, but distinguished by his own rare talents. At every step of his rise, his fellow-labourers recognised his superiority ; but he was chiefly led to entertain loftier views by his success in conciliating the full confidence and regard of the court of France, during a nuntiatura which he held in that country. After the death of Gregory XV., the French party immediately fixed their eyes on Maffeo as his successor.

The character of this conclave differed from the former ones in consequence of the shortness of the late pope's reign. Although he had nominated a considerable number of cardinals, yet the creatures of his predecessor were not less numerous ; and the two nephews, of the last pope and of his predecessor, stood opposed with nearly equal forces. It appears that Maffeo Barberini gave each of them to understand that he was the enemy of the other ; and it is asserted that he was in consequence supported by each, out of hatred to the other. But he doubtless acquired still greater influence by appearing as the constant assertor of the jurisdictional claims of the Roman curia, and thus gaining the good-will of the majority of the cardinals. In short, by the aid at once of his own merit and of the support of others, Maffeo Barberini triumphed over all ob-



stacles, and at the early age of fifty-five rose to the dignity of the papacy.

The court very soon perceived a wide difference between him and his predecessor. Clement VIII. was generally found busied in the study of St. Bernard, Paul V. in that of Justinian of Venice ; but the table of Urban VIII. was covered with the newest poems, or with plans of fortifications.

It may generally be observed, that the period in a man's life in which his character takes a decided bent, is that of the first bloom of manhood ; it is then that he begins to take an independent share in literature or public affairs. The youth of Paul V., born in 1552 ; that of Gregory XV., born in 1554, belonged to an epoch in which the principles of the catholic restoration strode onwards with full and uninterrupted career ; and by these principles their minds were completely subjugated and fashioned. The first active years of the life of Urban VIII., born in 1568, fell, on the contrary, in the times of the opposition of the papal government to Spain, and the re-establishment of catholicism as the dominant religion of France. We find that his inclinations now followed the bent thus impressed upon them.

Urban VIII. regarded himself mainly in the light of a temporal prince.

His favourite notion was, that the States of the Church must be secured by fortifications, and become formidable by their own arms. When the marble monuments of his predecessors were pointed out to him, he said he would erect one for himself

of iron. On the Bolognese frontier he built Castel-Franco, also called Fort Urbano; although its military aim was so little clear and obvious, that the Bolognese suspected it was built rather to overawe than to protect them. In Rome (in the year 1625) he fortified Castel St. Angelo with new breast-works, and immediately stored it with munitions of war and provisions, as if the enemy had been at the gates; he constructed the high walls which inclose the papal gardens on Monte Cavallo, without heeding the destruction of the magnificent remains of antiquity in the Colonna gardens. A manufactory of arms was established at Tivoli\*; the vaults under the Vatican library were used as an arsenal; soldiers swarmed in the streets, and the centre of the supreme spiritual power of christendom, the peaceful inclosures of the Eternal

\* A Contarini, Rel<sup>ne</sup> di 1635: "Quanto alle armi, i papi n' erano per l'addietro totalmente sprovveduti, perchè confidavano più nell' obligarsi i principi con le gratie che nelle difese temporali. Hora si è mutato registro, et il papa presente in particolare vi sta applicatissimo. A Tivoli egli ha condotto un tal Ripa Bresciano, suddito di V. Ser<sup>ta</sup>, il quale poi di tempo in tempo è andato sviando molti operai della terra di Gardon. Quivi costui fa lavorare gran quantità d'arme, prima facendo condurre il ferro grezzo dal Bresciano et hora lavorandone qualche portione ancora di certe miniere ritrovate nell' Umbria: di che tutto diedi avviso con mie lettere a suo tempo, che m'imagino passassero senza riflessione. Di queste armi ha il papa sotto la libreria del Vaticano accomodato un'arsenale, dove con buon ordine stanno riposti moschetti, picche, carabine e pistole per armare trentamila fanti e cinquemila cavalli oltre buon numero che dalla medesima fucina di Tivoli si è mandato a Ferrara e Castelfranco in queste ultime occorrenze." See App. No. 115.

City, resounded with the din of arms. It was, he said, indispensable too to a well-ordered state to have a free port, and accordingly Civita Vecchia was, at great cost, adapted to that end. But the results were more answerable to the situation of things than to the views of the pope. The Barbary corsairs sold at Civita Vecchia the plunder they had taken from christian merchants and travellers. Such was the result of the exertions of the sovereign pastor of christendom.

In all these things pope Urban acted with unlimited and autocratic power ; at least in the first years of his reign, he even surpassed his predecessors in the absoluteness of his sway.

If it was proposed to him to take counsel of the college, he replied, that he understood more than all the cardinals put together. Consistories were but rarely held, and even then, few had courage to express their opinions freely. The congregations assembled in the accustomed manner, but no important question was laid before them, and their decisions were little heeded\*. Nor did Urban form any regular *consulta* for the administration of the civil government such as had been established by his predecessors. His nephew, Francesco Barberino, was perfectly right in refusing, during the first ten years of the pontificate, to take the responsibility of any measure that had been adopted, let its nature be what it might.

The foreign ambassadors were distressed at the

\* " Le congregationi servono," says Aluise Contarini, " per coprire talvolta qualche errore."

impossibility of transacting business with the pope. At the audiences he talked more than anybody\*, lectured, and continued with one the conversation he had begun with another. All present must listen to him, admire him, and address him with an air of the greatest reverence, even when he refused their requests. Other popes often gave unfavourable answers to petitions, but from some principle, either religious or political; in Urban this was evidently the result of humour and caprice.

People never knew whether to expect a yes or a no from him. The shrewd and acute Venetians found out that he loved contradiction, and that he had an almost involuntary proneness towards the opposite of what was proposed to him; when therefore they had a point to carry, they resorted to the expedient of starting objections to it themselves. The pope, in seeking about for arguments to confute them, fell of himself upon propositions which no persuasions in the world would ever have induced him to listen to.

\* Pietro Contarini, Rel<sup>ne</sup> di 1627. “ Abbonda con grande faccundia nelli discorsi, è copioso nelli suoi ragionamenti, di cose varie argomenta, e tratta nelli negotj con tutte le ragioni che intende e sa, a segno che le audienze si rendono altrettanto e più lunghe di quelle de' precessori suoi: e nelle congregationi dove interviene segue pur il medesimo con grande disavantaggio di chi tratta seco, mentre togliendo egli la maggior parte del tempo poco ne lascia agli altri; et ho udito io dire ad un card<sup>le</sup> che andava non per ricever l'audienza ma per darla al papa, poichè era certo che la S<sup>ta</sup> S. più avrebbe voluto discorrere che ascoltarlo; e molte volte è accaduto che alcuni entrati per esporre le proprie loro istanze, postosi egli nei discorsi, se ne sono usciti

This is a sort of temper which we sometimes find in subordinate stations, and was not unfrequent at that time among Spaniards and Italians. Such men regard a public post as a tribute due to their personal merits; and consequently, in the administration of their office, they attend far more to their personal feelings and impulses, than to the exigencies of the case. Their conduct is not much unlike that of an author, who, filled with the consciousness of his talent, does not confine himself to the subject before him, but gives free course to the sports of his fancy.

Urban belonged in fact to this class of authors. The poems of his which are extant give evidence of wit and talent; but how strangely are sacred subjects handled in them! The songs and apophthegms of both the Old and the New Testament are forced into Horatian metres; the song of praise of the aged Simeon into two Sapphic strophes! No trace, of course, remains of the peculiar characteristics of the text; the matter is compelled to assume a form utterly discordant with it, merely in compliance with the whim of the author.

But these talents, the brilliancy with which they invested the person of the pope, nay, even the athletic health he enjoyed, all tended to increase that self-complacency, and to raise those personal pretensions with which his lofty station was of itself sufficient to inspire him\*.

*senza poter de' loro interessi dirle cosa alcuna."* See App. No. 111.

\* This had been remarked from the beginning. *Relatione*

It appears to me that no pope ever raised such arrogant claims to personal respect. An objection drawn from the old papal constitutions was once made to some argument of his ; he replied, “ that the judgement of a living pope was worth more than the maxims of a hundred dead ones.”

He abrogated the resolution of the Roman people never again to erect a statue to a living pope, by saying, “ that such a resolution could not apply to such a pope as he was.”

The conduct of one of his nuncios in a difficult affair being once commended to him, he replied, “ that the nuncio had acted upon his instructions.”

Such a man was Urban ; so filled with the idea of being a mighty prince ; so attached to France, both in consequence of his former occupations and of the support he had received from that country ; so self-willed, energetic, and full of his own importance ; such was the man upon whom at this moment the conduct of the highest spiritual power of catholic christendom had devolved.

His decisions, and the attitude which he might assume in the centre of the catholic powers, were of infinite consequence to the progress or the interruption of the universal restoration which now occupied mankind.

de' quattro ambasciatori, 1624 : “ Ama le proprie opinioni e si lascia usingare dal suo genio, a che conseguita una salda tenacità dei proprj pensieri : — — è sempre intento a quelle cose che possono ringrandire il concetto della sua persona.” See App. No. 104.

Frequently, however, people had thought they remarked in the pontiff an antipathy to Spanish Austria\*.

No later than the year 1625, cardinal Borgia complained of his harshness and severity; he said "that the king of Spain could not obtain the smallest concession; everything was refused him."

Cardinal Borgia maintained that pope Urban VIII. did not willingly terminate the affair of the Valtelline; that the king had offered to abandon the contested passes, and that the pope never chose to take any notice of the offer.

Nor indeed is it to be denied that Urban was in part the cause of the failure of the project of an alliance between the houses of Austria and England. When executing the dispensation which had been prepared by his predecessor, he added to the existing conditions, the stipulation that there should be in every county of England public churches erected for catholic worship; a demand which the majority of an excited protestant population rendered it absolutely impossible to comply with, and which the pope himself subsequently abandoned on occasion of the French marriage. In truth, he seemed to see with repugnance the augmentation of power which Spain would have ac-

\* Marquemont (*Lettres in Aubery, Mémoires de Richelieu*, i. p. 65) notices this from the very beginning. It will not be very difficult, he says, to manage the pope; his inclinations are on the side of the king and France; from prudence, however, he will try to satisfy the other sovereigns. The pope became immediately aware of the aversion of the Spaniards.

quired by the connexion with England. The nuncio, at that time resident at Brussels, carried on secret negotiations with a view to a marriage of the electoral prince palatine, not with an Austrian but with a Bavarian princess\*.

Nor had the pope a less material share in the complicated affairs of the Mantuan succession. The secret marriage of the young princess with Rethel, on which every thing turned, could not have been effected without a papal dispensation. This pope Urban granted, without having so much as asked her nearest relations, the emperor or the king; and granted it, too, exactly at the critical moment.

These circumstances were quite sufficient to show the sentiments of the pope. Like the other Italian powers, his first wish was to see a prince independent of Spain on the throne of Mantua.

Nor did he wait for any attack from Richelieu. As his application to the imperial court produced no effect; as, on the contrary, the proceedings of that court were more and more hostile, and the siege of Casale continued, the pope now turned to France.

He sent the most earnest entreaties that the king would bring an army into the field, even before La Rochelle should be taken; he urged that an enterprise in the cause of Mantua was not less pleasing in the sight of God, than the siege of that

\* The emissary of the nuncio was a capuchin, Francesco della Rota. Russdorf, *Negotiations*, i. 205, dwells with great minuteness upon his transactions.



grand citadel of the huguenots ; if the king would only appear in Lyons, and declare himself for the freedom of Italy, he, the pope, also would immediately bring an army into the field, and would unite his forces with those of the king\*.”

Richelieu had therefore at present nothing to fear from this side, if he should see fit to resume that opposition to Spain which had proved abortive three years before. But he determined to proceed with perfect security ; he was not in the same haste as the pope, nor would he be in any degree diverted from the siege, success in which at that moment enchained his ambition.

But he appeared only the more resolute as soon as La Rochelle had fallen. “ Monsignore,” said he to the papal nuncio, whom he instantly sent for, “ now we will not lose another moment ; the king will enter upon Italian affairs with all his might†.”

That enmity to Spain and Austria which had so often agitated Europe, thus burst forth with greater force than ever. The jealousy of Italy once more stimulated the ambition of France. The state of things appeared so urgent, that Louis XIII. would not wait the return of spring ; in the middle of January 1629, he quitted Paris, and took the road towards the Alps. In vain did the duke of Savoy, who, as we have said, adhered to the side of Spain, offer resistance ; his passes, which he caused to be

\* Extracts from the despatches of Bethune, of the 23rd Sept. and the 8th Oct. 1628, in Siri, *Memorie*, vi. p. 478.

† *Dispaccio Bagni*, 2 Nov. 1628.

barricaded, were stormed at the first assault, and Susa taken ; no later than March he was forced to make terms, and the Spaniards found themselves compelled to raise the siege of Casale\*.

The two leading powers of catholic christendom were thus once more arrayed in arms against each other, and Richelieu resumed his most daring schemes against the joint power of Spain and Austria.

But if we institute a comparison between the times, we shall find that he now stood upon a far more solid and tenable ground, than at the period of his projects with regard to the Grisons and the Palatinate. Then, the huguenots might have seized the moment to renew intestine wars. Now, they were not indeed completely subjugated, but since they had lost La Rochelle, they could no longer inspire alarm or solicitude ; they sustained an uninterrupted series of losses and defeats, nor were they strong enough even to make a diversion. It was perhaps still more important, that Richelieu now had the pope on his side. In his former enterprise he endangered even his position in France, by running counter to the policy of Rome ; whereas the present was instigated by Rome itself, for the interests of the Roman temporal sovereignty. Richelieu deemed it generally expedient to attach himself as closely as possible to the papacy ; thus, in the contest between Roman and Gallican doc-

\* *Recueil de diverses relations des guerres d'Italie, 1629-31. Bourg en Bresse, 1632.*

trines, he adhered to the Roman, and renounced the Gallican.

The momentous consequences of the hostility of Urban VIII. to the house of Austria now became evident.

With the development of religious opinions and the progress of the catholic restoration, were implicated political changes, the principle of which became more and more powerful and active, and now opposed a formidable resistance to the ecclesiastical principle.

The pope entered the lists against that very power which had evinced the greatest zeal in the re-establishment of catholicism.

The question was, what attitude this power (and the emperor Ferdinand more especially, in whose hands the work of that re-establishment chiefly rested) would assume in presence of so potent and so menacing an opposition?

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### § 3. THE POWER OF FERDINAND II. IN THE YEAR 1629.

The emperor appeared as if nothing had happened.

It is true, that under the existing circumstances he could promise himself no favour from the pope. He experienced resistance to his will in the most trifling things ; for instance, in an affair relating to

the abbey of St. Maximian ; nay, even in the most pious proposals—among which was his earnest desire to have St. Stephen and St. Wenceslaus received into the Roman calendar, on account of the great veneration paid to the one in Hungary and to the other in Bohemia. All his requests were refused. But notwithstanding these discouragements, he issued the edict of restitution on the sixth of March, 1629. It may be regarded as the final sentence in a great suit which had been going on for more than a century. The protestants were condemned without appeal, and judgement given absolutely in favour of the catholics. “ Nothing remains for us,” says the emperor, “ but to give our support and assistance to the injured party, and to command our commissioners to reclaim from their present unauthorized possessors, all archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelatures, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical property, confiscated since the treaty of Passau.” The commissions instantly made their appearance, and a special one for each circle of the empire entered upon its functions, which were executed in the most resolute and arbitrary manner.

One would have thought that the pope would at all events be appeased by these manifestations of zeal for the church, and would be moved to some favour and kindness. Pope Urban received them as the simple fulfilment of a duty. The emperor begged for the privilege of nominating at least the first occupants of the ecclesiastical offices recovered by means of the edict of restitution ; but the pope refused him even this, alleging that he

could not violate the concordats, which were observed even in France\*. There is a sort of bitter irony in this refusal, for the French concordat secured to the king the very right solicited in vain by the emperor. The emperor wished to have power to transform the restored monasteries into jesuits' colleges: the pope answered that the monasteries must be accounted for directly to the bishops.

Meanwhile the emperor, who looked upon himself as the great champion of the catholic church, pursued his own course, regardless of the displeasure of the pope.

He brought into the field three armies at once.

The first came in aid of the Poles against the Swedes, and succeeded in restoring, to some extent, the fortunes of the former. But this was not the only object; this campaign was designed at the same time to restore Prussia to the empire and the Teutonic order, from which it had been wrested\*.

Another army marched upon the Netherlands, to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reduction of those provinces. The troops poured themselves across the plain of Utrecht towards Amsterdam, and

\* Lettera di segreteria di stato al nuntio Pallotta li 28 Aprile, 1629. The pope destined his nuncio at Cologne, Pier Luigi Caraffa, for Lower Saxony, "con titolo per la restitutione de' beni ecclesiastici, e deliberò di dargli anche le facoltà a parte se fosse stato bisogno di usarle nelle controversie fra ecclesiastici ed ecclesiastici."

† Mémoires et négociations de Rusdorf, ii. 724: "Comiti Negromontano (Schwarzenberg) Viennæ nuper claris verbis a consiliariis et ministris Cæsaris dictum fuit, imperatorem scilicet sibi et imperio subjecturum quidquid milite suo in Borussia occupavit et cepit."

it was only the accident of a surprise they encountered at Wesel, which prevented great results from this combination.

Meanwhile a third army assembled at Memmingen and Lindau, destined to proceed into Italy and to decide the Mantuan question by the sword. The Swiss could not be prevailed on to allow the troops a passage; it was therefore forced: at the same moment Luciensteig, Chur and all the Grison passes to the lake of Como were occupied, and the army, to the number of 35,000 men, descended the vallies of the Adda and the Oglio.

The duke of Mantua was once more summoned to submit. He replied that he was under the protection of the king of France, and that any demands or conditions must be addressed to that monarch. While the Germans moved upon Mantua and the Spaniards upon Montferrat, the French likewise appeared a second time in the field. This time, too, they obtained some successes; they took Saluzzo and Pinerolo, but they accomplished nothing decisive of the matter at issue; nor were they even able to bend the duke of Savoy again to their will.

The Spaniards laid siege to Casale; the Germans, after a short truce, to Mantua\*, and had a decided superiority.

It was no wonder if this state of things suggested recollections of the ancient supremacy of the emperor, or that these were currently expressed

\* The 11th book of the *Istoria di Pietro Giov. Capriata* investigates the particular importance of each of these events.

in Vienna. "We will show the Italians," said they, "that there is still an emperor, and that he will call them to account."

Venice had more especially drawn upon herself the hatred of the house of Austria. It was judged at Vienna, that when once Mantua had surrendered, the terra-firma of Venice could no longer resist. In a few months it must fall into the hands of Austria, who would then demand the restitution of the imperial fiefs. The Spanish ambassador went still further. He compared the Spanish-Austrian power with that of Rome, and the Venetian with that of Carthage. "Aut Roma," exclaimed he, "aut Carthago delenda est."

Here, too, the temporal rights of the empire, as against the papacy, were called to mind.

Ferdinand II. desired to be crowned, and requested that the pope would meet him for that purpose at Bologna or Ferrara: the pope did not venture either to promise or to refuse absolutely, and sought to extricate himself from his difficulty by a mental reservation\*. The feudal rights of the empire over Urbino and Montefeltro next came under discussion, and the papal nuncio was unceremoniously told, that Wallenstein would inform himself more accurately about them when he came to Italy. This was, in fact, Wallenstein's intention. He had originally been opposed to an Italian

\* "Se bene Urbano una volta uscì coll' ambasciatore Savelli che bisognando si saria trasferito a Bologna o Ferrara, non intese però dire in corresponsività di quello che espresse il principe di Eckenberg."

war ; but now that he saw, as he declared, that the pope and his allies wanted to crush the house of Austria, he was for it\*. He hinted that it was a hundred years since Rome had been sacked, and that it must be much richer now than then.

Neither was France to be spared. The emperor thought to recover the three alienated bishoprics by force of arms. His plan was to invade France with Cossack troops from Poland ; and the quarrels of Louis XIII. with his brother and his mother seemed to offer a tempting opportunity.

The house of Austria thus occupied a position which enabled it boldly to pursue its designs against the protestants, and at the same time to exercise a potent check on the catholic opposition and on the pope himself.

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\* A letter by Pallotta on the 10th of August, 1628, shows what was the general opinion of the pope at Vienna : “ È stato qui rappresentato da' maligni, che son quelli che vogliono la guerra, che lo stato di Milano sta in grandissimo pericolo, essendo cosa sicura che papa Urbano havendo vastissimi pensieri sia di cattivo animo verso la casa d'Austria, che perciò si habbia da temere di S. S<sup>ta</sup> non meno che di Veneziani e di Francesi havendo gli stati così vicini al ducato di Milano e potendo in un tratto mettere potente esercito in campagna : e di più gli stessi maligni hanno rappresentato per cosa già stabilita che S. S<sup>a</sup> vuole in ogni modo far fare re de' Romani il re di Francia, ed in confermazione di ciò hanno allegato che essendo la S<sup>a</sup> S. nunzio in Francia dicesse alla regina che s'egli arrivava ad esser papa, voleva procurare di fare re de' Romani il suo figliuolo, il quale ancora era fanciullo.”



§ 4. NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWEDEN.—ELECTORAL  
DIET OF RATISBON.

In former ages, whenever a conjuncture like that which we have just described had been foreseen or feared, even in a distant futurity, every power in Europe possessing the least remaining independence had combined. It was now actually present. The catholic opposition looked around for help beyond the pale of catholicism ; not, as before, from jealousy, but for defence and salvation. But to whom could this party turn ? England had ample employment at home, in the quarrels between the king and the parliament, and moreover was engaged in fresh negotiations with Spain. The Netherlands were overrun by the enemy ; the German protestants either beaten or overawed by the imperial troops, and the king of Denmark compelled to accede to a disadvantageous peace. There remained only the king of Sweden.

While the protestants were defeated on every hand, Gustavus Adolphus alone had been victorious. He had conquered Riga, the whole of Livonia as far as Dünamünde, and, as the Poles expressed it, “ as much of Lithuania as he had pleased ;” in 1626 he appeared in Prussia, chiefly, as he said, to inspect the state of the clergy in the diocese of Ermeland ; he had taken the two chief seats of restored catholicism in that country, Frauenburg and Braunsberg, and had thus opened a new and strong asylum to oppressed protestantism.

All eyes were turned upon him. "Above all men," writes Rusdorf, as early as the year 1624, "I revere and admire this victorious hero; I honour him as the sole prop of our cause, as the terror of our common foes; my prayers accompany the career of his fame, which soars far above the reach of envy\*." Gustavus Adolphus had indeed suffered some loss in the battle of the plain of Stumm, where he himself was in imminent danger of being taken prisoner; but the chivalrous valour with which he cut his way through the enemy, cast an additional lustre over his reputation, and he kept the field in spite of this reverse.

To this heroic prince the French now addressed themselves. They first negotiated a truce between him and the Poles, and it is very possible that the views of the emperor upon Prussia, to which we have alluded, conduced to inspire the magnates, if not the king, of Poland, with an inclination for peace†. They thus made some advance towards the attainment of their chief aim—that of drawing the king of Sweden to Germany; and in case they succeeded, the only reservation they contemplated was, to introduce into the treaty some stipulations in favour of catholicism. With this condition they declared themselves ready to aid the king,

\* Rusdorf, *Mémoires*, ii. 3: "Ejus gloriam invidiæ metas eluctatam, excelsam infracti animi magnitudinem, et virtutis magis ac magis per merita enitescens et assurgens invictum robur cum stupore adoro et supplici voto prosequor."

† Rusdorf, l. i. 724; "Poloniæ procures, si unquam, vel nunc maxime pacem desiderabunt."

who was to bring a considerable army into the field, with answerable supplies in money. After some hesitation, king Gustavus consented to their proposals. In his instructions he avoids all allusion to religion; alleging only as the objects of the alliance, the restoration of the ancient rights of the estates of Germany, the removal of the imperial troops, and the security of commerce and of the sea\*. A compact was drawn out, in which the king engaged to tolerate the catholic mode of worship wherever he found it, and in the affairs of religion to abide by the laws of the empire (to use the expression employed). This was necessary also on account of the pope, to whom it was immediately announced. The ratification of the treaty was indeed retarded by some formalities, but in the summer of 1630 it was regarded as definitive†. The papal nuncio in France maintained that Venice had pledged herself to pay a third of the subsidies‡. I have not been able to make out what

\* “*Tenor mandatorum quæ S. R. Maj. Sueciæ clementer vult ut consiliarius ejus. . . . Dn. Camerarius observare debeat, Upsaliæ, 18 Dec. 1629.*” *Mosers patriotisches Archiv.*, vol. vi. p. 133.

† Bagni, 18 Giugno, 1630. He gives in the following form, with slight variations, the article which also appears in the treaty of the 6th Jan. 1631: “*Si rex aliquos progressus faciet, in captis aut deditis locis, quantum ad ea quæ religionem spectant, observabit leges imperii.*” He also shows what construction was put upon it. “*Le quali leggi,*” he adds, “*dicevano dovere intendersi della religione cattolica e della confessione Augustana.*” Thus Calvinism would have remained excluded.

‡ Bagni, 16 Luglio, 1630. “*Sopraggiunsero,*” it is said in the extract, “*nuove lettere del Bagni coll’ avviso che alla prefata can-*

foundation there is for this assertion, but it is certainly rendered probable by the general state of affairs.

But could it be hoped that Gustavus Adolphus would be able single-handed to break the might of the imperial allied armies, and to conquer them in the field? Nobody believed it possible. It appeared therefore extremely desirable to excite a movement in Germany itself, calculated to favour his undertaking.

For this end the protestants might doubtless be reckoned upon. Whatever might be the policy suggested to individual princes by personal considerations or by fear, yet that fermentation which penetrates to the very core of social life, and which is the harbinger of mighty convulsions, had seized upon all minds. As a proof of this I will mention only one thought which was rife at that time. When attempts were made in some places to carry into effect the edict of restitution, and the jesuits intimated their intention of not even recognising the treaty of Augsburg, the protestants gave out that before this could come to pass, the German empire and nation should be utterly shattered and overthrown: "rather would they cast away all law and order, and restore Germany once more to the solitude and the wildness of her ancient forests."

But this was not all. Discontents and divisions appeared on the catholic side also.

*federatione fra il re di Francia e lo Sueco erasi aggiunta la repubblica di Venetia, la quale obligavasi a contribuire per la terza parte."*

It is impossible to describe the agitation occasioned by the design of the jesuits to take possession of the lands of the restored monasteries. The jesuits were said to have declared that there were no benedictines remaining ; that they had all fallen off from the discipline of their order, and were not competent to resume possession of the property they had lost. 'They contested even their claims on the score of service ; they would not hear of conversions having been wrought by them ; what appeared such, they said, were only the work of force\*. Thus even before any restoration of the church lands had taken place, they excited discord and contention between the orders for the right of possession, and between the emperor and the pope for the right of collation.

To these religious differences were now added

\* The violent controversial writings, attacks and replies produced by this affair, give us insight into the subject of dispute, but none into the truth of the facts. "È verissimo," says the papal nuncio in a letter written in cipher, "che i padri Gesuiti hanno procurato e procurano col favore dell' imperatore, che non può esser maggiore, di non solo soprastare agli altri religiosi, ma di escluderli dove essi v'hanno alcun interesse o politico o spirituale." I find, nevertheless, that the emperor, however great at that time his devotion to the jesuits, was inclined in the year 1629 to make entire restitution of their possessions to the older orders. This is stated by Pier Luigi Caraffa, nuncio at Cologne. But the jesuits had already gained their point at Rome, where in July 1629 a decree was issued, "che alcuna parte (dei beni ricuperati) potesse convertirsi in erezioni di seminarj, di alunnati, di scuole e di collegj tanto de' padri Gesuiti, quali in gran parte furono motori dell' editto di Cesare, come di altri religiosi." The schools of the jesuits would thus have spread over all the north of Germany.

secular ones of a yet more extensive nature. The imperial troops were an insupportable burthen to the country ; they exhausted its resources, and those of its inhabitants ; and the princes had no better treatment at the hands of the general, than the citizen or the peasant at those of the soldier. Wallenstein held the most insolent language. The old allies of the emperor, the heads of the league, above all Maximilian of Bavaria, were dissatisfied with the present and anxious about the future.

In this situation of things it happened that Ferdinand assembled the catholic electors at Ratisbon in the summer of 1630, with a view to procure the election of his son as king of the Romans. On such an occasion it inevitably followed, that all other public affairs came under discussion.

The emperor plainly saw that he must concede something. His private intention was to give way on some points of German affairs ; he showed himself disposed to prolong the suspension of the edict of restitution as it regarded the territories of Brandenburg and the electorate of Saxony ; to come to some definitive accommodation concerning the palatinate and Mecklenburg, to appease and conciliate Sweden (for which purpose negotiations were already opened), and in the meantime to turn all his forces upon Italy, in order to bring the Mantuan war to a termination, and to extort from the pope a recognition of his ecclesiastical claims\*.

\* Dispaccio Pallotta, 2 Ag. 1630, gives the following amongst the points which were to be taken into consideration: 1°. " Se si doveva sospendere o tirare avanti l'editto della ricuperatione de'

He probably believed that since he had to deal with German princes, he should obtain most by conciliation and concession in German affairs. But the position of things was not so simple.

The spirit of the Italico-French opposition had already insinuated itself amongst the catholic electors, and its leaders sought to turn the discontents prevailing among the latter to their own ends.

First appeared the papal nuncio Rocci in Ratisbon, and as an inevitable consequence of his character and function, used every possible means to thwart the execution of the Italian and antipapal schemes.

The pope had charged him to make it his first care to be upon a good understanding with the elector of Bavaria; in a short time he announced that this understanding was maintained in the profoundest secrecy\*; he produced a declaration of the catholic electors, that they would preserve a strict union with him in all ecclesiastical affairs, and especially would maintain inviolate the jurisdiction and dignity of the papal see. But to give a decisive

beni eccl<sup>ci</sup>; 2°. se havendosi da procedere avanti, si avesse da sospendere quanto a quelli che erano negli stati dell' elettori di Sassonia e di Brandenburgo: ed *inclinavasi a sospenderlo*; 3°. quanto ai benefici e beni eccl<sup>ci</sup> che si erano recuperati, pretendevansi che alli imperatori spettasse la nominazone . . . . . 6°. trattavasi di restituire il ducato di Mechelburgh agli antichi padroni, siccome il palatinato almeno inferiore al palatino con perpetuo pregiudizio della religione cattolica come era seguito con Danimarca."

\* Dispaccio Rocci, 9 Sett. 1630: "E questa corrispondenza riuscì molto fruttuosa, perchè Baviera di buon cuore operò che in quel convento non si trattò delle operationi sopra mentovate."

turn to affairs, father Joseph, the confidant of Richelieu came to his aid. On no occasion was the consummate cunning of that capuchin more busy, more successful, or more obvious to all acquainted with the transactions, than on this. His companion in Ratisbon, Monsieur de Leon, who lent his name to this embassy, is reported to have said, that father Joseph had no soul, but in its stead shallows and quicksands, into which every one must fall who had any dealings with him.

By the instrumentality of such mediators the Italico-French opposition quickly won over the emperor's German confederates. Nothing was done for the reconciliation of the empire with Sweden, or for the pacification of the protestants; nor had the pope ever given his consent to the suspension of the edict of restitution. On the other hand, the electors pressed for the restoration of peace in Italy; they demanded the dismissal of the imperial commander-in-chief, who had assumed the bearing of an absolute dictator; and so mighty was this influence, so adroitly was it exercised, that the puissant emperor, at the zenith of his power, yielded without resistance and without conditions.

While these negotiations were carrying on in Ratisbon, his troops had conquered Mantua; he might regard himself as master of Italy, when at this moment, he consented to cede Mantua to the duke of Nevers, in exchange for the empty formality of an apology. But the other demands made upon him



afforded perhaps yet more striking evidence of the relative address of the parties. The German princes, France, and the pope, were all equally overawed by the general, on whose personal qualities the whole fortune of the imperial arms depended. It is no cause of wonder if they hated him and desired to be rid of him. The emperor, for peace' sake, gave him up.

At the very moment when he might have obtained the sovereignty of Italy, he let it slip through his hands. At the very moment when the most formidable, most warlike enemy attacked him in Germany, he dismissed the captain who alone was capable of defending him. Never did policy and diplomacy obtain a more solid or a more brilliant triumph.

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#### § 5. SWEDISH WAR—SITUATION AND POLICY OF THE POPE.

This was the true commencement of the war. It cannot be denied that Gustavus Adolphus opened it under the most favourable circumstances. For the imperial army drawn together by the name of Wallenstein was personally devoted and bound to that great commander. The emperor had disbanded a part of it, and had subjected the contributions levied by the generals, which had hitherto been left to

their own discretion, to the arbitration of the circles of the empire\*, and at length, by the act of dismissing his general, he had destroyed his army and robbed it of its moral force. With troops thus disgusted and disheartened, Torquato Conti, an Italian who had formerly been in the pope's service, had to make head against the emboldened and zealous enemy. As might have been anticipated, his failure was complete; the imperial army appeared no longer the same; nothing was seen but indecision, terror, and disaster; Gustavus Adolphus completely routed it and took up a strong position on the lower Oder.

At first it was thought in southern Germany that this was of little importance to the rest of the empire; and Tilly meanwhile continued his operations on the Elbe with perfect coolness. The conquest he at length achieved of Magdeburg appeared to the pope a great victory and inspired the highest hopes. A commissary was actually appointed at Tilly's suggestion, to arrange the affairs of the archbishopric according to the laws of the catholic church.

But it was this very measure which determined the protestant princes who had hitherto been wavering, to join Gustavus Adolphus, and, while Tilly sought to prevent them, to declare an enmity to the league which rendered it impossible any longer to discriminate between the leaguers and the impe-

\* Adlzreitter, iii. xv. 48 : "Cæsar statuit ne in posterum stipendia pro tribunorum arbitrio, sed ex circulatorum præscripta moderatione penderentur."

rialists. The battle of Leipzig followed. Tilly was completely routed, and the protestant armies overran the territories of the leagued princes, as well as those of the emperor. Würzburg and Bamberg fell into the king's hands; the protestants of the far north encountered on the banks of the Rhine the ancient champions of Roman catholicism, the troops of Spain; their skulls lie mingled at Oppenheim. Mayence was conquered; all the oppressed princes joined the king, and the expelled count palatine appeared in his camp.

Thus was the necessary result of an enterprise, which had been excited and approved by the catholic opposition from political views, advantageous to protestantism. The party that had been utterly overpowered found itself once more victorious. It is true, the king extended his protection to the catholics generally, as he was bound to do by the terms of his alliance; but he at the same time declared that he was come to rescue his fellow-believers from the violence offered to their consciences\*; he took the lutheran ministers who lived under catholic governments under his special protection—as for instance those of Erfurt; he also everywhere proclaimed the Augsburg confession; the ejected pastors returned to the Palatinate, and the lutheran doctrine and worship once more traversed the empire under the banners of the victorious army.

\* Letter from the king to the town of Schweinfurt, given in Chemnitz, Schwedischer Krieg, Part I. p. 231.

Such were the strange and perplexed results of the policy of Urban VIII. In so far as the king attacked and overcame the Austrian power, he was the natural ally of the pope, and this was immediately evident in the affairs of Italy ; for disheartened by the disasters in Germany, the emperor acquiesced in more unfavourable terms in the affair of Mantua, in the year 1631, than had been proposed to him the year before at Ratisbon. Nay, there even subsisted indirect, if not direct, ties between the papal see and the protestant powers which were once more engaged in a successful struggle. “ I speak with good grounds,” says Aluise Contarini, who had been first at the French and then at the Roman court, “ for I was present at all the negotiations ; the pope’s nuncios always favoured Richelieu’s undertakings, both when they had for their object his own safety, and when they aimed at uniting Bavaria and the league with France ; with regard to his alliance with Holland and the protestant powers generally, they held their peace, that they might not say they had sanctioned it. Other popes would perhaps have had this connivance upon their conscience, but the nuncios of Urban VIII. found this the road to greater consideration and to personal advancement\*.”

The emperor made loud and bitter complaints ; he said that the Roman court had first persuaded him to publish the edict of restitution and now deserted

\* Al. Contarini, *Relatione di Roma*, 1635. See App. No. 115.

him in the war which it had occasioned ; that the pope had thwarted the election of his son as king of the Romans ; that he had encouraged the elector of Bavaria by word and deed to follow a separate policy, and to ally himself with France ; that it was in vain to apply to Urban for those succours in money and troops which other popes had so often afforded ; and that he even refused to pronounce condemnation on the alliance of the French with heretics, or to proclaim this war to be a war of religion\*. In the year 1632, we find the imperial ambassadors in Rome reiterating with peculiar emphasis the last charge. The declaration of his holiness, they say, may still produce the greatest effect ; it is still not absolutely impossible to drive out the king of Sweden, who has not more than thirty thousand men. The pope replied with frigid pedantry, “ With thirty thousand men Alexander conquered the world.” He persisted in asserting

\* Aluise Contarini : “ Gli Alemanni si pretendono delusi dal papa, perchè dopo aver egli reiteratamente persuaso l'imperatore di ripetere dagli eretici i beni ecclesiastici d'Alemagna ch' erano in loro mani, origine di tante guerre, resistesse S. St<sup>a</sup> poi alle reiterate spedizioni di card<sup>li</sup> e d'amb<sup>ri</sup> nelle assistenze di danaro, nel mandar gente e bandiere con l'esempio de' precessori, nel publicar la guerra di religione, nell' impedire colle scomuniche gli appoggi ai medesimi heretici della Francia : anzi nel medesimo tempo ritardata l'elettione del re de' Romani, confortato il duca di Baviera con la lega cattolica all' unione di Francia, assistendo lo medesimo di danari e di consiglio per sostenersi in corpo separato. Il papa si lagna d'esser tenuto eretico et amatore di buoni progressi de' protestanti, come tal volta in effetto non li ebbe discari.”

that it was not a war of religion,—that it concerned only affairs of state ; and that moreover the papal treasury was exhausted and he could do no more.

The members of the curia, and the inhabitants of Rome were amazed. “ Amidst the conflagration of churches and monasteries,” said they, “ the pope remained stiff and cold as ice. The king of Sweden had more zeal for his lutheranism, than the holy father for the only true faith.”

The Spaniards once more proceeded to a protest. Cardinal Borgia now appeared before Urban VIII. as Olivarez had done before Sixtus V., to protest solemnly against the conduct of his holiness. A scene ensued even more violent than on that occasion. Whilst the pope broke out into furious anger and interrupted the envoy, the cardinals present took part on one side or the other. The envoy was forced to content himself with giving in a written protest\*. But this did not satisfy the zealously religious party, and the idea of summoning a council in opposition to the pope was already suggested, especially by cardinal Ludovisio, the nephew and minister of the former pope†.

But what a fire would such a measure have lighted up ! Events already took a turn which

\* “ Nella quale,” says cardinal Cecchini in his autobiography, “ concludeva che tutti li danni che per le presenti turbolenze erano per venire alla christianità, sariano stati attribuiti alla negligenza del papa.” See App. No. 121.

† Al. Contarini speaks of the “ orecchio che si prestava in Spagna alle pratiche di Ludovisio per un concilio.”

left no doubt as to their nature, and which would of necessity give another direction to papal policy.

Urban VIII. flattered himself for a time that the king would conclude a treaty of neutrality with Bavaria, and would restore the ejected spiritual princes to their dominions. But this attempt at a reconciliation of interests so directly at variance, soon utterly failed. The Swedish troops inundated Bavaria, Tilly fell; Munich was conquered, and duke Bernard threatened the Tyrol.

These things left no room for doubt as to what the pope and catholicism had to expect from Sweden. How utterly was the situation of things changed in a moment! While perhaps the catholic party had cherished the hope of restoring the protestant endowments in North Germany to catholicism, Gustavus now conceived the plan of transforming the South-German endowments which were in his power, into secular principalities. He already began to talk of his duchy of Franconia, and seemed to intend to fix his royal court at Augsburg.

Two years before the pope had had to fear a descent of the Austrians upon Italy, and had been menaced with an attack on Rome itself. Now, the Swedes appeared on the frontiers of Italy, and under the conduct of a victorious leader whose very title—the king of the Swedes and Goths—suggested to either party a crowd of recollections\*.

\* Al. Contarini asserts nevertheless that, "L'opinione vive tuttavia che a S. S<sup>ta</sup> sia dispiaciuta la morte del re di Svezia e

### § 6. RESTORATION OF THE BALANCE OF THE TWO CONFESSIONS.

I have no intention of tracing the course of that struggle which for sixteen years longer desolated Germany. It is sufficient if we have remarked how that mighty torrent of catholicism which seemed likely to overspread Germany for ever, just as it was preparing to sweep away the protestant faith at its very sources, was checked in its career and triumphantly forced back. It may be observed generally, that catholicism, viewed as one body, was unable to sustain its own victories. Even the head of the church believed himself compelled by political considerations to oppose the very powers which were the foremost champions and propagators of his spiritual authority. Catholics, acting in accordance with the pope, evoked the yet unsubdued forces of protestantism and prepared the way for their success.

Plans so vast as those conceived by Gustavus Adolphus in the plenitude of his power, could not indeed be executed after the early death of that prince; for the triumphs of protestantism were by no means to be ascribed to its own intrinsic strength. Yet neither was catholicism, even when

*che più goda o per dir meglio manco tema i progressi de' protestanti che degli Austriaci."*



it had concentrated its forces, when Bavaria once more allied herself to the emperor, and Urban VIII. contributed fresh subsidies, sufficiently strong again to overpower protestantism.

This conviction soon obtained, at least in Germany, and indeed gave rise to the treaty of Prague. The emperor suffered his edict of restitution to drop, while the elector of Saxony and the states in alliance with him, gave up the hope of the re-establishment of protestantism in the hereditary dominions of Austria.

The pope, it is true, opposed every measure at variance with the edict of restitution, and in the emperor's spiritual council he had the jesuits on his side, particularly father Lamormain, who was constantly eulogized on that account, as "a worthy father confessor, a man swayed by no temporal considerations :\*" but the majority were against him ; the capuchins Quiroga and Valerian, the cardinals Dietrichstein and Pazmany, among others, maintained that if the catholic faith was upheld in its purity in the hereditary dominions, religious freedom might safely be granted in the empire. The peace of Prague was announced from every pulpit in Vienna ; the capuchins boasted of their share in this "honourable and holy work," and instituted special solemnities in its celebration ;

\* Lettera del card<sup>l</sup> Barberino al nuntio Baglione, 17 Marzo 1635 : "Essendo azione da generoso Christiano e degno confessore di un pio imperatore ciò che egli ha fatto rimirando più il cielo che il mondo."

scarcely indeed could the nuncio prevent the singing of *Te Deum* \*.

Urban VIII., though in practice he had contributed so much to the defeat of all the projects of catholicism, had yet abandoned no claim in theory, and had thus deprived the papacy of any participation in the vital and active interests of the world. Nothing affords stronger evidence of this than the instruction which he gave his legate Ginetti on his departure for Cologne, in the year 1636, to negotiate a general peace. Precisely on all those points upon which every thing absolutely depended, the

\* From the correspondence of Baglioni, as extracted in the 6th vol. of Nicoletti; e.g. 14th of April, 1635. “Disse un giorno il conte di Ognate che assolutamente il re di Spagna non havrebbe dato ajuto alcuno all’imperatore se non in caso che seguisse la pace con Sassonia: di che maravigliandosi il nunzio disse che la pietà del re cattolico richiedeva che si cumulassero gli ajuti non seguendo detta pace, la quale doveva piuttosto disturbarsi trattandosi con eretici, ed applicare l’animo alla pace universale coi principi cattolici. Fulli risposto che ciò seguirebbe quando la guerra si fosse fatta per la salute delle anime e non per la ricuperazione de’ beni ecclesiastici, ed il padre Quiroga soggiunse al nunzio che l’imperatore era stato gabbato da quelli che l’havvano persuaso a fare l’editto della ricuperazione de’ beni ecclesiastici, volendo intendere de’ Gesuiti, e che tutto erasi fatto per interesse proprio: ma avendo il nunzio risposto che la persuasione era stata interposta con buona intenzione, il padre Quiroga si accese in maniera che proruppe in termini esorbitanti, sicchè al nunzio fu difficile il ripigliarlo perchè maggiormente non eccedesse. Ma Ognate passò più oltre, dicendo che l’imperatore non poteva in conto alcuno ritirarsi dalla pace con Sassonia per la necessità in cui trovavasi, non potendo resistere a tanti nemici, e che non era obbligato a rimettervi l’havere de’ suoi stati hereditarj ma solamente quelli dell’ imperio, che erano tenuissimi, e che non compiva di tirare avanti con pericolo di perdere gli uni e gli altri.

hands of the ambassador were tied. For example, one of the most urgent necessities was the re-establishment of the palatinate, yet the legate was enjoined to oppose the restitution of the palatinate to a non-catholic prince\*. What had already appeared inevitable even during the negotiations at Prague, viz. to make some concessions to the protestants in reference to church property, was now become yet more so ; nevertheless the legate was admonished “to especial zeal in yielding nothing which might be for the advantage of the protestants in respect of church property.” Nor would the pope accede to any treaty of peace with protestant powers. His envoy was not to give his sanction to any project for including the Dutch in the peace ; he was to oppose any transfer or cession to Sweden (this related only to some pending discussion about a sea-port) ; “the divine mercy would find means to remove that nation out of Germany.”

The Roman see could no longer entertain any reasonable hope of subjugating the protestants ; it is, however, most remarkable and important, that Urban—involuntarily indeed, but by his stubborn pertinacity in urging impracticable claims,—himself rendered it impossible to exercise any material influence on the relations of catholic states to Rome.

The pope continued indeed to send his ambassadors to the congress which was met for the negotiation of a peace ; Ginetti was succeeded by Macchiavelli, Rosetti, Chigi. Ginetti was accused

\* Siri : Mercurio, ii. p. 987.

of being frugal to a degree which was prejudicial to his utility; Macchiavelli, of regarding his mission solely as a means of acquiring rank,—as giving him a qualification for a higher post; Rosetti was disagreeable to the French;—such are the reasons assigned for the insignificance of their influence\*. The truth is, that the thing itself—the position which the pope had taken up,—rendered any effective interference on the part of the nuncios impossible. Chigi was able and popular; yet he effected nothing. A peace was concluded before his eyes of the very nature the pope had denounced and forbidden. The elector-palatine and all the expelled princes were restored; so far from any possibility of thinking of the edict of restitution, many religious endowments were secularized without hesitation, and given up to the protestants. Spain determined at length to recognise the independence of those rebels to pope and king—the Dutch; the Swedes kept a considerable portion of the empire. Even the peace between the emperor and France was not such as the curia could approve, containing, as it did, stipulations concerning Metz, Toul, and Verdun, by which its rights were invaded. The papacy found itself under the melancholy necessity of protesting; it chose at least to give utterance to the principles which it had been unable to enforce. But even this had been foreseen. The spiritual articles of the peace of Westphalia were prefaced by the declaration, that

\* Pallavicini: Vita di papa Alessandro VII. MS. See App. No. 130.

the contracting parties would not regard the opposition of any one soever, whether of temporal or spiritual estate\*.

By this peace the grand struggle between catholics and protestants was at length brought to a close, though to a far different one from that which the edict of restitution was intended to effect. Catholicism preserved vast acquisitions, since the year 1624 was regarded as the normal year to which the relative situation of the two parties was to be referred; on the other hand, the protestant party obtained that parity in the diet which was so indispensable to their safety, and had been so long withheld. All the relations of the empire were henceforth governed by this principle.

It is obvious that an end was now for ever put to such schemes as had formerly been undertaken, and had formerly succeeded.

The results of the German contest re-acted immediately on the neighbouring countries.

Although the emperor had been able to maintain the ascendancy of catholicism in his hereditary dominions, he was obliged to make concessions to the protestants in Hungary; in the year 1645 he found himself constrained to restore to them no inconsiderable number of churches.

After the vast and sudden elevation of Sweden to the dignity and importance of a great power, Poland could hardly think of renewing her old claims to that country. Wladislaus IV. did not

\* Treaty of peace of Osnabrück. Article V. § 1.

imitate the proselyting zeal of his father, and was a gracious king to his dissident subjects.

Even in France, Richelieu favoured the huguenots after they were stripped of their political independence. He rendered, however, a far more important service to the protestant principle by that mortal combat which he continued to wage against the pre-eminently catholic power of Spain ; a combat which shook the Spanish monarchy to its very foundations. This discord was the only one which the pope might have allayed without a scruple. But while all others were in fact appeased, this remained still active, and incessantly agitated the bosom of the catholic world.

The Dutch, until the peace of Westphalia, had taken the most successful part in the war against Spain. This was the golden age of the power and the prosperity of Holland. But from the time they aspired to domination in the East, they came into violent collision there with the successful catholic missions.

In England alone, catholicism, or something having an analogy with its outward forms, seemed to find acceptance. We remark envoys from the English court in Rome, and papal agents in England ; the queen, of whom a sort of official recognition obtained in Rome\*, exercised an influence over her husband which appeared inevitably to ex-

\* Nani : *Relatione di Roma*, 1640. " Con la regina d'Inghilterra passa communicatione de' ministri con officii e donativi di cortesia, e si concede a quella M<sup>ta</sup> nominatione di cardinale a pare

tend to religion also ; and in many of its usages and ceremonies the church of England closely approximated to that of Rome. But these symptoms were only the forerunners of the very reverse of what they seemed to promise. It is highly improbable that Charles I. ever in his heart dissented from the protestant faith ; but even the slight approximations to the catholic ritual in which he indulged, were decisive of his ruin. It seemed as if the violent excitement which had caused such long, universal, and perpetually recurring conflicts in the protestant world at large, was now concentrated in the English puritans. In vain did Ireland strive to withdraw herself from their despotism, and to organize herself as a catholic country ; the subjection to which she was reduced was but the more absolute. The aristocracy and the commons of England constituted a power, the rise of which marks the restored prosperity of protestantism in Europe.

By these events eternal barriers were erected against the progress of catholicism, which has now its assigned and definite limits ; nor can its most ardent or sanguine partisans entertain any serious thought of that conquest of the world which they once contemplated and projected.

degli altri re." Spada: Relatione della nunziatura di Francia, 1641 :  
" Il S<sup>r</sup> Conte Rosetti, residente in quel regno, bene corrisponde nell' ossequio gli ordini del S<sup>r</sup> card<sup>l</sup> Barberini protettore tutti pieni dell' ardore e zelo di S. Em<sup>za</sup>.

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Indeed the intellectual development of Europe has rendered this impossible.

A current of opinions and of tastes dangerous to the lofty unity claimed by the church, has set in, and bears all before it ; the religious element is become powerless ; political considerations rule the world.

For it was not by their own arms that the protestants were saved. The main cause of their deliverance was a schism in the bosom of catholicism, which enabled them to re-establish themselves. In the year 1631 we find the two great catholic powers in alliance with the protestants ; France undisguisedly, Spain in secret. It is certain that the Spaniards had at that time established an understanding with the French huguenots.

But the protestants were as little united. Not only did lutherans and calvinists attack each other—this had always been the case,—but the different sects of calvinists, although unquestionably contending for a common cause, took opposite sides in this war. The naval power of the huguenots was broken, solely by the support which their co-religionists and ancient allies were induced to afford to the crown of France.

The head of catholicism himself, the pope of Rome, who had hitherto directed the attacks on the protestants, at length put aside these, the highest interests of the spiritual authority. He took part against those who had laboured most zealously for the restoration of catholicism ; his conduct was guided by the views and considerations incident to



his temporal sovereignty. He returned to that line of policy which had been abandoned ever since the reign of Paul III. We may remember that in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, nothing contributed so much to advance the cause of protestantism as the political efforts of the popes : to these, as far as human views can reach, did protestantism now owe its salvation and its stability.

But this example could not fail to work upon the other powers. German-Austria, which had so long remained unshaken in her orthodoxy, at length embraced the same policy ; and the position she assumed subsequently to the peace of Westphalia, rested on her intimate alliance with North Germany, England, and Holland.

If we inquire what were the deeper causes of this phænomenon, we should look for it amiss, solely in the deadening of religious impulses, or the embittering of religious differences. It appears to me that we must seek elsewhere the substance and the significance of the fact.

In the first place, the great spiritual battle had accomplished its work in the minds of men. In earlier times Christianity had been rather an affair of surrender of the heart and understanding, of simple unquestioning acceptance, of faith untouched by a doubt ; now it was become a matter of conviction, of conscious compliance. Still more important was it that men had to choose between two different creeds ; that they had to reject, to abjure, to change. Men were personally addressed and solicited ; their freedom of judgement was invoked.

Hence it happened that ideas connected with Christianity penetrated more deeply and more perfectly into every department of life and thought.

To this is to be added another important consideration.

It is indeed true that the prevalence of internal differences disturbed the unity of collective Christendom ; but, if we do not deceive ourselves, it is another universal law of human things that this disturbance prepared a higher and a larger development of the human mind.

In the press of the universal struggle, religion was conceived by different nations after the different varieties of its dogmatical forms. The peculiar dogma adopted was incorporated with the feeling of nationality, as a possession of the community—of the state or the people. It was won by the sword, maintained amidst a thousand dangers—it had become part of the life's blood of the nation.

Hence it has come to pass, that the states on either side have grown into great ecclesiastico-political bodies, whose individuality is marked, on the catholic, by the measure of their devotedness to the Roman see, and of the degree of toleration or exclusion of non-catholics ; but still more strongly on the protestant, where the departure from the symbolical books adopted as tests, the mixture of the lutheran and the calvinistic creeds, the greater or less approximation to an episcopal constitution of the church, form so many striking and obvious distinctions. The first question in every country is, what is its dominant religion? Christianity appears

under various forms ; but however great be the discrepancies between them, no party can deny to another the possession of the fundamentals of faith. On the contrary, these several forms are guaranteed by compacts and by treaties of peace, to which all are parties, and which are, as it were, the fundamental laws of a universal republic.

Never more can the thought of exalting the one or the other confession to universal supremacy find place among men. The only consideration now is, how each state, each people, can best proceed from the basis of its own politico-religious principles, to the development of its intellectual and moral powers.

On this depends the future condition of the world.

END OF VOL. II.













